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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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30 November 1984

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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ALBANIA

AWP PAPER REITERATES THEME OF ECONOMIC EFFECTIVENESS

AU031648 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 Oct 84 p 1

[Editorial: "Economic Thinking Should Have a Bigger Say in Effectiveness"]

[Excerpts] The training of a large army of cadres and specialists who are working throughout the country as production organizers, in various apparatuses, and in scientific institutions is a great victory of the party's policy. Their role in the effective development and management of the economy has grown continually. But the change required in the matter of effectiveness will be made successful, as the party once again instructed at the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum, by better setting in motion the thinking of cadres, specialists, and all the working people.

Economic thinking must materialize, first and foremost, through the all-round fulfillment of the planned tasks in all their technical and economic details, at the lowest possible cost, and with a high degree of profitability. This is the "ABC" of effectiveness. To tackle the plan daily and hourly, therefore, is not a matter of routine, but an essential and primary task of the economists, engineers, agronomists, chemists, and so forth. Routine work is avoided through a thorough knowledge and persistent implementation of the party's economic policy, the economic laws, and the laws of extended socialist reproduction. This constitutes precisely a major front in the work of the party organizations in enterprises, agricultural cooperatives, the apparatuses of the people's council executive committees, and the ministries. There are positive examples and experience everywhere.

This experience must be deepened and promoted. The economic thinking of economists, planning and finance officials, primarily, but also of all specialists, must have a more forceful say in order to eliminate certain harmful phenomena in the process of fulfilling the plan. They must adopt an aggressive position with regard to the low level of utilization of production capacities in some plants and factories, manifestations of unilateralism, the underrating of financial aspects, excessive expenditure and costs, the failure to respect contracts, poor quality, and so forth.

The role of economic thinking does not lie in and cannot be reduced solely to the fulfillment of planned tasks. This role must be felt more forcefully also in the matter of broadening horizons and in resolving a number of problems confronting us. "Daily state and economic tasks....," Comrade Enver Hoxha stresses, "must not prevent us from mastering what is new in science, which is very complicated...." The profound understanding and implementation of this instruction in the field of economic thinking, as in all other fields, constitutes a basic factor in achieving the quantitative and qualitative improvements required by the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum in increasing effectiveness.

Without denying the general experience, which is positive, it is necessary to criticize, in this connection, certain manifestations of underrating and even of disregarding the thinking of planning and finance officials. The number of economists in the study and design institutions of central departments in engineering, the light and food industry, construction, and other sectors, is still low, too low. While paying attention to contemporary technologies, the economic side, profitability, and effectiveness of every study being made or investment made must also not be neglected. Studies and investments cannot be viewed properly without proper coordination of technical and economic thinking.

CSO: 2100/7

ALBANIA

'WEST EUROPEAN MILITARY UNION' DENOUNCED

AU051758 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 31 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by Arben Karapici: "New Label of an Old Policy." The rebirth of the West European Military Union is tied to the militarism of the aggressive block NATO.]

[Text] In the political and military circles of Western Europe there has been a lot of talk lately of the importance of a so-called independent European defense. The slogans of the ability of a European defense are being repeated, presenting it as an "ideal of the West European people" etc. This noise became louder on the occasion of the first meeting, after so many years, of "The West European Military Union Organization" with the participation of foreign and defense ministers of Great Britain, France, FRG, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg, which concluded its work on Monday, and in which they discussed the coordination of Western Europe's military policy.

The rebirth of this West European military mechanism joins the increasing wave of militaristic policies in Europe and the world. The meaning of this rebirth becomes clear if we look at the feverish pace of the armaments race of the two superpowers and the aggressive military blocks of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the spirals of which are reaching ever higher peaks.

In this context, the West European bourgeoisie, in trying to strengthen itself militarily, is using all means and mechanisms at its disposal. One of the mechanisms is the "West European Union." It is not by chance that the Rome meeting pointed out the importance of reaching an early agreement, either lateral or multilateral, within the Western European Union on production of conventional arms and the improvement of the military structures of the member countries of this organization. The monopolistic West European bourgeoisie is being armed through NATO as well as the Western European Union.

Irrespective of the European name it bears, the Western European Military Organization cannot detach itself from NATO. Though it claims to be independent from Washington, the rebirth of the Western European Union could not have been achieved without American approval. For some time, the United States has been trying and continues to try to arm the NATO

countries. Washington has always tried to dictate to the European countries its own political line and attitude that suits its hegemonistic aspirations in the old continent. The Western European Union is only a good cover and justification for the name it bears. This is the reason why all military measures taken by NATO that serve the militaristic policies of Washington are now also being undertaken by the organization of the "West European Military Union." Through this organization Washington achieves its own goals, at the same time it gives its NATO allies the opportunity to beat their chests and rock in the cradle of their illusions the idea that they are determining and taking their own decisions in the military field. On these lines the Rome meeting acted; a special document was approved outlining the increase and perfection of conventional armaments, the increase in the manpower of their military units and the advancing of the militaristic plans of Western Europe which in turn requires an increase of the military budgets of the member countries and, last but not least, there are the American requests to this effect, which are constantly heard from Weinberger and the Pentagon.

On the other hand, in itself the mechanism of the union of the member countries military block of NATO and their obligations to the alliance, of which the "West European Military Union" is a part, is such that it does not allow them to make any greater steps than Washington has assigned them. The Rome meeting of the Western European Union is not even a propaganda move to show the world that Western Europe handles her own defense. This is a political, diplomatic military act which clearly shows and confirms the American position as a master of the so-called Atlantic Alliance.

The huge propaganda for the Rome meeting of the "West European Military Union" made by the West European bourgeoisie claims that the meeting was an important event with greater perspectives for the defense of Europe. That is not so, and far less so for the benefit of the peoples of Europe. The massive protests by tens of thousands of Italian youths and workers, while the "Western European Union" was meeting, demonstrates that the people of Europe do not want this type of defense, in fact it exposes them more to the dangers of imperialistic wars, toward which the West European monopolistic bourgeoisie is also heading, together with the two superpowers and their unleashed militarism.

CSO: 2100/7

ALBANIA

'STABILITY' OF COUNTRY'S ECONOMY STRESSED

AU061552 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 31 Oct 84 p 3

[Article by Prof Hekuran Mara: "The Stability of Our Economy Derives From Its Laws and Their Consistent Implementation"]

[Excerpts] The terms "stability" and "instability" have currently become symbols of the times. These terms characterize in a concise and also very apt manner the radical differences in the state and in the prospects of two socioeconomic systems, namely, the socialist system, on the one hand, and the bourgeois and revisionist capitalist system, on the other.

Time is the most just, most impartial, and most severe judge also in economic and social matters. And 40 years are sufficient to persuade anyone that the period of the construction of socialism in Albania, has been a period of continuous progress in our economy, a period of its rapid, uninterrupted, and steady development, without crises or unemployment, without inflation and price rises, and without any of the other numerous evils that characterize the capitalist system and the bourgeois and revisionist countries.

To say that our economy has progressed and is progressing smoothly, without difficulties and obstacles, is neither correct nor true. No, reality has not been like that. During these 40 years of its socialist construction, our economy has had to overcome difficulties and obstacles inherited from the past, but particularly those created by the enemies of the people and of socialism, by the anti-Albanian activity of revisionists of all hues, and by the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade. Despite these circumstances, during the entire period of socialist construction our social product increased 20 times, compared with the pre-liberation period, the national income produced within the country increased 13 times, and approximately 600,000 jobs were created in the state sector alone.

"In this period of severe crises that have gripped the capitalist and revisionist world," Comrade Hoxha has stated, "the strength and stability of socialist Albania, our political and economic stability, is a testimony of the superiority of socialism, the wisdom of the party's Marxist-Leninist line, and of the correctness of the principle of self-reliance. The fact that this small socialist Albania, being surrounded by this great sea of



political, economic, financial, and other storms, is capable of overcoming the difficulties and of progressing uninterruptedly, fills all our hearts with legitimate pride."

The stability of our economy's development is not a static, but a dynamic one. This stability is not fortuitous. It cannot be explained by the country's size and population, nor by the low starting level and the supposedly low level of the complexity of our economy, as some bourgeois and revisionist authors are trying to "prove." The stability of our economy has one explanation only: It is an indivisible feature of our socialist economy system, of its laws and principles, and of the economic policy based on these laws and principles, which the party has consistently implemented; it is a consequence of the creative thinking of the masses and of their selfless efforts, because they have made the party's policy their own and because they are implementing this policy loyally.

CSO: 2100/7

ALBANIA

GEGPRIFTI READS HOXHA PARTISAN GREETINGS MESSAGE

AU051027 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 5 Nov 84

[Text] Tirana, 5 Nov (ATA)--The inhabitants of the zone of Shengjergj Tirana District, celebrated the 41st anniversary of the 2nd shock brigade with enthusiasm on 4 November. Llamib Gegprifti, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and other comrades had come to take part in the celebration of this event.

Wreaths were laid in the lapidary on this formation of this brigade in the name of the Central Committee of the party, the former partisans of the brigade, the party committee and the Executive Committee of the district People's Council, etc.

In the popular rally organized on this occasion amidst the great joy of those present Comrade Llambi Gegprifti read out the greeting of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the former partisans and cadres of the 2nd shock brigade on occasion of the 41st anniversary of its creation.

I hail and greet you wholeheartedly on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of the formation of your brigade, which you celebrate this year in the joyous atmosphere of the great jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the liberation and the triumph of the people's revolution, the greeting says among others.

On 23 November 1943, the marked day of the 31st anniversary of the proclamation of the independence, you came down from the shepherd's huts of Linos in Skrep and in the small square surrounded by mountains, amidst the joy of the brave, patriotic and progressive peasants of the region of Shengjergj and the partisans of its chetta [small band of people], you formed the 2nd shock brigade, one of the first large formations of our heroic National Liberation Army. The enthusiasm of that day, your joy and of the people of the region, who saw in you the resolute fighters for the cause of the party and people, will remain unforgettable for me, just as for all of you.

The brigade, formed on the eve of winter, when it had to face great difficulties of the season and fierce battles against the enemies, lacked the armaments, lacked also food and clothes, but you, its former partisans,

were determined to march on the road of the struggle for liberation led by the party.

The 2nd shock brigade, just as all the formations of our partisan National Liberation Army, made its contribution to the liquidation of considerable human and material contingents of the occupiers and the local traitors, to the destruction of the old feudal bourgeois power and the establishment and strengthening of the people's state power.

Implementing the instructions of the party and the orders of the general staff, you displayed bravery and courage in the fighting actions round the capital, in the zones of Kruje and Martanesh. But these characteristics would stand out even more forcibly in the later battles in central and southern Albania, in the districts of Korce and Kolonje, and on the Struge-qafe-thane-perrenjas highway, etc.

The struggle and the untiring work of the martyrs from the ranks of your brigade, who laid down their lives in the struggle for the great cause of the people, will remain a source of inspiration to all of us and to the coming generations of our country.

Soon our entire people will joyfully and enthusiastically celebrate the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland. Our major victories in every field of life over these 4 decades have their foundations in the glorious national liberation struggle, in the wisdom, courage and correct leadership of our party, which has always led the struggle and the work of the masses and which successfully leads our people on the Marxist-Leninist road for the complete construction of socialist society, the greeting concludes.

The greeting of Comrade Enver Hoxha was received with applause and acclamations of those present.

Then, in this speech, Comrade Llambi Gegprifti dwelt among others on the fighting operations of the partisans of this brigade, their heroism in the struggle against the foreign occupiers and traitors to the country, etc.

His speech was frequently punctuated by applause and acclamations of those present for the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

CSO: 2020/22

CC SECRETARY READS HOXHA GREETINGS MESSAGE

AU050939 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 5 Nov 84

[Text] Tirana, 5 Nov (ATA)--The people of Tropoje District celebrated enthusiastically on 4 November the 40th anniversary of the creation of the 25th shock brigade and of the liberation of the district from the foreign occupiers and traitors to the country.

Present at the celebration of these two events were also Vangjel Cerrava, secretary of the Central Committee of the party, leading cadres of the party and power in the district, etc.

Homage was paid and wreaths were laid in the martyrs' graves of the district in the name of the Central Committee of the party, of the former partisans of the 25th shock brigade, the committee of the party and the Executive Committee of the district People's Council, etc.

Amidst the great enthusiasm of those present in the broad popular rally organized on this occasion, Comrade Vangjel Cerrava read out the greeting of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, addressed to the former partisans and cadres of the 25th shock brigade on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of its creation.

I greet you wholeheartedly for the happy celebration of the creation of your brigade 40 years ago, the greeting says among others.

The people of the district of Tropoje was living in freedom for several days and Albania was on the eve of the complete liberation, when you, descendants of the brave man of the mountains, the people's hero, Bajram Curri, gathered in Aste of Tropoje and amidst the enthusiasm of the highlanders, formed the 25th shock brigade. The creation of this large partisan unit was a clear evidence of the growth of the liberation struggle of the people of Tropoje, who since 1943, responding to the call of the party, took the oath in the assembly of the highlands of Gjakova and decided to take up arms against the occupiers and the local traitors till the complete liberation of the country. The high mountains and the gorges which through centuries had witnessed the struggle of your predecessors for the defence of the lands from the enemies, echoed once again powerfully during the years of our great national liberation war from the rifles of partisan units and battalions that formed your brigade.

The newly formed brigade was charged with important and difficult tasks by the party, because it had confidence in your bravery and determination, because it was sure of your love for freedom and knew that you learned to handle the rifle for the defence of the honour and the homeland since in childhood. You justified the trust of the party through the successful fightings against the enemies in Nikaj-Mertur, in the region of Dukagjin and particularly through the carrying out of the task the party and our general staff charged you with for the liberation of the peoples of the southern part of Yugoslavia and of our Albanian brothers living in Kosova, Montenegro and Macedonia. Through your brave stand, through your countless sacrifices, through the blood of the comrades who fell side by side with the fighters from Kosova, Montenegro and Bosnia, you just as all the partisans and cadres of the 5th and 6th divisions, manifested the internationalist spirit that characterize our people and party.

On this day of celebration for you and the entire people of the district of Tropoje, we recall the heroic time of war, the past difficulties, the battles fought and above all the fallen comrades, who put their blood on the foundation of our joys.

Forty years are being completed since the day when our people, under the leadership of the party, drove away once and for ever from their territory the occupiers and traitors to the country and started the construction of the new life. You and the old people recall well from where did we start the work for the construction of socialism. The torch used for lighting by the mountaineer and the log for a pillow, which have been long ago sent to the museum, show the younger generations of the heroic efforts and sacrifices of the people and the party, which, within few decades, managed to pass from the torch to the giants of lights, such as Fierza and Koman.

Through struggle, work, and closed ranks of the people round the party, socialist Albania will become ever more beautiful, more prosperous and stronger, the greetings concluded.

The greeting of Comrade Enver Hoxha was received by the participants with applause and acclamations.

In his speech, Comrade Vangjel Cerrava pointed out among others the patriotic traditions of the people of this district, the fighting road and activity of the brigade, the heroism of its partisans, as well as the transformations that have occurred in Albania over the years of the people's power under the leadership of the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head.

His speech was often punctuated by the enthusiastic applause and acclamations of those present for our party of labour and the beloved leader Comrade Enver Hoxha.

ALBANIA

VIENNA, OTHER TALKS 'DEMAGOGICAL FORUMS'

AU071240 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 7 Nov 84

[Text] Tirana, 7 November (ATA)--There are 12 years now since the conference of the NATO and Warsaw Treaty member countries continues in Vienna. During this time hundreds of sessions and scores of proposals have been made, and yet the conference is dwelling on the first part of the first point of the agenda. The participants are still in disagreement about how many troops each side has in Central Europe, so that to pass then, on the measures for their "reduction."

In the meantime both sides are hurrying to augment the nuclear missiles and conventional arms stockpiles, to increase the bases, the troops and their military presence in the countries of Europe, both in the West and in the East, thus trampling under foot the sovereignty and dignity of these countries.

Organising conferences such as that of Vienna, on the mutual reduction of troops in Central Europe, or like that on the European security, reduction of missiles, disarmament of the outer space, etc., U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, along with those that follow their tune, are speculating with the aspirations of the peoples for genuine peace and security. These conferences serve Washington and Moscow, besides others, as bridges for continuous contacts and counterrevolutionary bargains. Hence, these demagogical forums have nothing in common with disarmament, but they are places for the further armament and preparations for war and imperialist and social-imperialist aggressions.

CSO: 2020/21

SESSION IN VARIOUS PLANTS TO MARK GOSR

AU061744 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 7 Nov 84

[Text] Tirana, 7 November (ATA)--In the context of the 67th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, numerous activities are being conducted all over our country on this major victory of the Russian proletariat, of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin.

Working people of economic enterprises and school pupils have followed with interest the talks about the great historic importance of the October Revolution and the films "Lenin in October," "Stories on Lenin," etc., conducted and shown in the "V.I. Lenin-J.V. Stalin" Museum. In the capital pedagogues of the "V.I. Lenin" Higher School have held talks on the actual teachings of the October Socialist Revolution, on its influence in Albania, for the creative development in the concrete conditions of our country of the ideas of the October Revolution by the PLA and Comrade Enver Hoxha, etc.

In the "V.I. Lenin" Cement Factory in Vlora, in "The Road of Lenin" Agricultural Cooperative in Novosela, in "J.V. Stalin" Cooperative of Qeparo, etc., the paper "The Great Ideas of the Red October and the Principled and Consistent Stand of the PLA Towards the Teachings of Marxism-Leninism in Struggle with Modern Revisionism of Every Hue Was Read Out." Such activities were conducted also in the "J.V. Stalin" Hydropower Station of Bistrica, in the "The Victory of Leninism" Agricultural Cooperative of Konispol, in Saranda District, etc.

Photo exhibitions are displayed in the districts of Fier, Elbasan, Stalin City, documentary films are shown and talks are held on occasion of this anniversary.

CSO: 2020/21

STEFANI, OTHERS AT SCHOOL ANNIVERSARY MEETING

AU081507 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 8 Nov 84

[ATA Headline: "The 40th Anniversary of the Creation of the 'Enver Hoxha' United Officers School Celebrated Enthusiastically"]

[Excerpts] Tirana, 8 November (ATA)--A jubilee meeting was organised yesterday afternoon in the capital to mark the 40th anniversary of the creation of this higher institution which trains new cadres of our People's Army.

Attending it were also the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Simon Stefani; the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu; the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of people's defence, Comrade Prokop Murra; the minister of education and culture, Tefta Cami and other comrades.

Amidst the great revolutionary enthusiasm, Comrade Simon Stefani read out the greeting of the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania and general commander of the Armed Forces of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha addressed to the effective of the "Enver Hoxha" United Higher Officers' School on occasion of the 40th anniversary of its creation.

CSO: 2020/21



ENVER HOXHA'S GREETING TO OFFICERS SCHOOL

AU081520 Tirana ATA in English 0720 GMT 8 Nov 84

[ATA Headline: "Comrade Enver Hoxha's Greeting to the Students, Pedagogues and Cadres of the "Enver Hoxha" United Higher Higher Officer's School"]

[Text] Tirana, 8 November (ATA)--Dear Students, pedagogues and cadres of the Higher Officer's School, on behalf of the Central Committee of the party and on my behalf, I congratulate you.

Forty years have elapsed since the day when the first course of training the cadres that came from the ranks of partisan units and the heat of the national liberation war, at that time without school and direct military knowledge, but with the rich experience of the fierce battles and the joy of victories over the large military units of the fascist and Nazi occupiers and the gangs of local traitors, was set up. They were the first cadres with military education, who were in the lead of the units of our regular people's army.

The party notices with great pleasure and legitimate pride that the United Officer's School, the worthy follower of that course as well as the other military schools, have become the major source that supplies our people's army with cadres with a high ideological and military preparation, that know well the demands of the military people's art and the use of military technique, with a strong discipline and boundless loyalty to the people and socialist homeland, ready to perform with revolutionary conscience every task they will be charged with. The officers trained in these schools have made and are making an important contribution to the ideological-political education, the military training and modernizing of our armed forces, who embody all the necessary qualities, who are everywhere and at any time unwavering and invincible guards of the sacred borders of the homeland, of the freedom and independence of the country and the people's power. As worthy sons and daughters of the people that gave birth and reared them, the cadres trained in your school work untiringly to cement the cadre-soldier relations, putting into life insistingly the continuous instructions of the party to have an army of the people and for the people, contrary to the desire and hostile and counterrevolutionary endeavours of the plotting and treacherous groups that wanted to create castes, to separate our armed forces from the party and people and hurl them against the party and people. Your school and other military schools of our country train political and military cadres who are trained and live side by side with the soldiers, in the production centers, in the free military schools, there where the working masses work, live and get training.

Comrades, the international situation that we are experiencing, the plots and warmongering endeavours of the imperialists, social-imperialists and various reactionary circles, demand from all of us higher revolutionary vigilance, combat readiness and capacity, so that to defeat any enemy, from wherever it comes, to safeguard the freedom and independence, the victories and achievements for the construction of our new socialist life.

In these conditions, before you is laid the task to raise to a higher level the educational-didactic work in school, so that it trains cadres imbued with the teachings of the party and the Marxist-Leninist military science and our people's military art. Parallel to this, the usage with a higher effectiveness of the material bases the party has put at your disposal should serve you to make the coming cadres capable of acting swiftly and with maturity in special conditions of the terrain and weather, to be physically tempered to overcome any difficulty and meet any demand of modern war.

The party demands that the future cadres be worthy cadres of our heroic people's army, they should merit the faith entrusted to them and the great respect and love of the working masses. The party is convinced that your school will continue, in the future too, to carry out with the greatest responsibility the important task it has been charged with, in accord with directives of the Central Committee of the party and the Council of Defence and in concordance with the demands of the time for a modern army.

I wish you a happy celebration of the 40th anniversary of the creation of the school, successes at work, lessons and training, I wish you a good health and happiness in life.

I wish you also a happy jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the peoples revolution to be celebrated soon.

The first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania and the general commander of the Armed Forces of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Enver Hoxha.

CSO: 2020/21

NEW BOOK BY ENVER HOXHA PUBLISHED

AU081533 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 8 Nov 84

[Text] Tirana, 8 November (ATA)--The new work by Comrade Enver Hoxha "Laying the Foundations of the New Albania" is put into circulation today. It contains memoirs and historical notes from the period of the National Liberation War.

At the center of the book are two of the historical victories, two of the greatest works of the epoch of the party: the political unity of the people, embodied in the National Liberation Front and the laying of the foundations of the people's power. These two monumental works have been set up, raised and cemented with the blood, toil, countless efforts and sacrifices of the people and the party.

Through numerous facts and documents, the book reflects the correct line of the party in the period of the National Liberation War, its confrontation with internal and external enemies, the great problems the party has solved, which will illuminate to the younger generations that militant road through which their parents have passed so that to come to the happy days we are enjoying today.

The book "Laying the Foundations of the New Albania," published on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the Liberation recall with profound respect the outstanding work of our party and people in the fiery years of the National Liberation War, as well as in the period right after the liberation of the country.

CSO: 2020/21

AWP PAPER CARRIES EDITORIAL ON ANNIVERSARY

AU081451 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 8 Nov 84

[ATA Headline--Editorial of the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT: "The Party--Vanguard Staff, Always Unyielding and Militant"]

[Text] Tirana, 8 November (ATA)--Under the above mentioned title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries today an editorial on the occasion of the 43rd anniversary of the founding of our glorious party.

From generation to generation, 8 November 1941, the birthday of the party, the editorial stresses among others, will remain a great event in the history of our party and people. It would confirm the great mission of the party to place itself at the head of the masses, in the forefront of the battles in the front rank of the struggle to be always ready for every sacrifice in the interest of the liberation and the progress of the people, of the prosperity of the homeland and the defence of socialism. Our party is a glorious deed of the Albanian Communists and the beloved founder and leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, which was demanded by the time, by the great interests of the homeland and the people.

"Since the day of its creation we its sons and soldiers, Comrade Enver Hoxha says, gave to the party everything: our blood, our minds and hearts, all our forces and energies, all the revolutionary dreams and desires. On its part, the party, too, gave us everything: it reared and educated us, it pitched us from battle to battle, it led us to the greatest victory in the century long history of our people to the final liberation of Albania, to the establishment of the people's power, to the socialism we enjoy, develop and defend as the apple of our eyes."

From the heights of the 40 years of free life, the editorial underlines, we see the major victories we have scored under the leadership of the party. These victories are all sided, in the political and social fields, in the ideological field, in economy and defence. In the chain of the innumerable achievements, the moulding of the new man imbued with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist outlook, with an unyielding militant spirit, the proletarian modesty, the new man who works and lives as a revolutionary, the man who searches and realises, who masters the knowledge and the science and places them in the service of the society, is the greatest victory of the party, a deed of its mind.

A magnificent and a militant unity of the people round the party, ZERI I POPULLIT continues, was forged only under the leadership of the party. This unity, which is an expression of the lofty socialist patriotism, a unity of thought and action, a unity of revolutionary action is the key to our victories. It will smash to smithereens also the imperialist-revisionist blockades and encirclement, their diabolic aims towards socialist Albania.

Our homeland and people are completing 40 years of their free life, of the life full of struggles and victories, of the prosperous life full of work and happiness. The people attribute all the victories to the beloved party, to the dear leader Comrade Enver Hoxha and implementing their teachings, we shall always score fresh victories and achievements, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes in conclusion.

CSO: 2020/21

DEMOGRAPHIC MONOGRAPH ON FAMILY STRUCTURE

AU122158 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Text] Tirana, 12 November (ATA)--The monograph "The Demographic Changes in the Family in the PSR of Albania," publication of Tirana University, came off the press recently. The book dwells on the development of the Albanian family and on the emergence and affirmation of the new positive tendencies in the matrimonial relations.

The book argues in a scientific way that the establishment [?and] the constant perfection of the economic basis and the material-technical one, the revolutionary transformations that have occurred in the superstructure, the raising of the education and cultural level of the working masses etc., have been the main factors that led to the creation of a family with an entirely new structure and functions. The book analyzes as well the establishment of the relations of equality and collaboration between the members in the family, the extension of the new type of marriage based on the reciprocal acquaintance and the free will of the youths, out [as received] of any interest.

Further on the monograph speaks about the changes in the number of the family members as well as the increase of the number of the families at rates faster than the population growth. The data regarding the social and class development of the family as well as the progressive tendencies of the development of the matrimonial relations are also of interest.

As a whole the book provides a generalisation of the revolutionary experience of our country in the formation, consolidation and progressive perfection of the development of the matrimonial relations.

CSO: 2020/21

ALBANIA

MYFTIU AT ARCHIVES INSTITUTE ANNIVERSARY

AU131438 Tirana ATA in English 0735 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] Tirana, 13 November (ATA)--The 35th anniversary of the creation of the Central State Archives was celebrated in Tirana yesterday. On this occasion, a jubilee session was organised in one of the halls of the National Historic Museum.

Attending it were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu, the member of the Central Committee of the party and directoress of the Institute of Marxist-Leninist Studies, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha, the President of the Academy of Sciences Prof Aleks Buda and other comrades.

On this occasion Comrade Manush Myftiu greeted the working people of the archives on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers and of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha personally. In his speech, among others, he pointed out the great role of the State Archives as an institution of importance for the state administration, science and our national culture. It was created, consolidated and modernized over the years of the power, under the continuous care of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally.

The director of the Central State Archives, Thoma Murzaku read out the paper on the 35th year road of this institution, which reflects the work made to extend the archives network beginning with the Central Archives down to the archives of the institutions economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives.

Some other papers were also read out in the session, those present visited the exhibition "35 years of the Central State Archives."

CSO: 2020/21

ALBANIA

PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY COMMISSIONS MEET, HEAR OFFICIALS

AU141426 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 13 Nov 84

[Text] In the course of the implementation of the decisions of the tasks set out by the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum, the permanent commissions of the People's Assembly for industry; construction, communications and post-telecommunications; trade; health and communal services met recently. At these meetings, the commissions examined important problems pertaining to the further increase in the efficiency of the cultural and economic organs in their respective sectors.

At the meeting of the permanent commission for industry, the question of the strengthening of technical and scientific discipline to increase efficiency was dealt with on the basis of reports presented with regard to the drilling operations for oil and gas. In addition to the control exercised in the field, the deputies demanded explanations from officials of the respective ministry and institutions, and stressed the need for the mobilization of the working people in extracting oil and gas on the basis of approved plans; the need for a further elevation of the level of studies and of the design work in drilling and surveying operations; the need to strengthen technical and organizational measures in order to prevent stoppages and losses in working time at the wells; and to raise the level of the scientific work and of the training of the working people in this sector.

At the meeting of the commission for construction, communications, and posts and telecommunications, the deputies discussed preparatory studies pertaining to juridical norms for the timely completion and commissioning of production projects. The deputies pointed out that in addition to positive achievements in this respect, there are also delays in the completion and commissioning of such projects, as has been pointed out also at the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum. The deputies demanded that measures be adopted and that discipline, organization, and account-rendering be strengthened with regard to the completion of construction projects and their increased efficiency. The deputies also demanded explanations with regard to the fulfillment of plans in railroad transportation and its improved utilization.



The commission for trade examined a report on the further improvement of the trade network and its extension in the countryside. The deputies pointed out that in the course of the implementation of the Eighth AWP Congress, good work has been done in extending the trade network in remote mountainous areas, which has led to better supplies for the population. The commission drew the attention of the appropriate organs with regard to the completion of investments stipulated in this field.

The permanent commission for health and communal services examined a report on the work carried out and measures adopted by the central health institutions to further improve medical services and the strengthening of the internal administration in accordance with juridical dispositions. The commission pointed out that better work has been carried out generally in this field, but it also drew the attention of the respective organs to further improve their work in the future. The commission also examined the work carried out by the Ministry of Communal Services in implementing Decision No 157 of the People's Assembly dated 3 June 1982 pertaining to the improvement of communal services in urban and rural areas.

The commissions also examined the answers given by respective ministries and institutions with regard to questions raised by deputies at the fifth session of the People's Assembly, and with regard to the tasks set out by the Ninth AWP Central Committee plenum to the commissions of the People's Assembly in raising their efficiency in the future.

The meetings of the commissions were also attended by Comrades Rita Marko and Khafer Spahiu, deputy chairmen of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

CSO: 2100/7

## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

MALILE, OTHERS AT RECEPTION--Tirana, 30 October (ATA)--On occasion of the National Day, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Selcuk Toker, gave a reception at the embassy seat last night. Present at the reception were the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, the minister of foreign trade, Shane Korbeci, the minister of communications, Luan Babameto, the president of the Academy of Sciences Prof Aleks Buda, the chairman of the Executive Committee of Tirana District Peoples Council, Jashar Menzelxhiu and other guests. Attending were also heads and functionaries of the diplomatic representations accredited to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0803 GMT 30 Oct 84 AU]

DELEGATION RETURNS FROM ALGERIA--Tirana, 7 November (ATA)--The state delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, led by the Vice President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly Comrade Rita Marko, which at the invitation of the Algerian Government attended the celebration of the 30th anniversary of the day of the Algerian revolution, returned home, yesterday. The delegation was received by the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Besnik Bektashi, the vice president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Xhafer Spahiu and others. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 7 Nov 84 AU]

AWP GREETES SPANISH CP CONGRESS--Tirana, 8 November (ATA)--According to a communique published by the information and press office of the Communist Party of Spain (Marxist-Leninist) in its organ VANGUARDIA OBREA, it is reported that the Fourth Congress of this party was held in Madrid from 12 to 24 October. The report of the Central Committee of the CP of Spain (M-L) submitted to the congress dwelt on problems about the international situation and imperialism, the actual situation in Spain, about the balance sheet of the activity of the party, the situation in the international communist movement (Marxist-Leninist), etc. The delegates unanimously adopted the documents presented in the congress, and elected the Central Committee and other organs of the party. Comrade Raul Marko was elected first secretary of the Central Committee. The congress decided also on the "public presentation of the congress and the organising of rallies, and other activities. The 20th anniversary of the reconstruction of the party, on 17 December 1964 will be commemorated in the end of these activities." On occasion of this congress, the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania sent a message of greetings to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain (M-L). [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0915 GMT 8 Nov 84]

OFFICERS' SCHOOL AWARD---Tirana, 9 November (ATA)---Yesterday before noon, the ceremony of handing over the lofty decoration "Order of the Freedom," First Class, accorded by the Presidium of the People's Assembly to the "Enver Hoxha" United Higher Officers' School on occasion of the 40th anniversary of its creation was organised in the capital. Present at the ceremony organised on the occasion were the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of people's defence, Comrade Prokop Murra and other cadres. Then Comrade Prokop Murra greeted those present on behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. After the handing over of the lofty decoration, the ceremonial parade of the effective of the school was organised. Then those present paid a visit to the museum of the school, which reflects the 40 year long road of this institution. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 9 Nov 84 AU]

CSO: 2020/21

BULGARIA

REAGAN HAS ONLY ONE-THIRD POPULAR MANDATE

AU091225 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Nov 84 p 4

[Article by Georgi Todorchev, New York correspondent: "Rituals and Realities"]

[Text] New York, 7 November--The American voters refused to grant an "unlimited mandate" to the U.S. Republican Party in the elections held on 6 November 1984.

"The historic reshuffle" for which U.S. President Ronald Reagan appealed particularly during the last days of his election campaign, did not achieve its political implementation. The Republican Party was not able to become the "party of the majority" called upon to prevail exclusively upon the U.S. political scene.

By obtaining 59 percent of the votes from the Americans who participated in the elections, Ronald Reagan ensured his second term of office, President of the United States, while 41 percent of the voters voted for Walter Mondale, the candidate of the Democratic Party. According to the data so far, which reflect nearly 99 percent of the votes, 51 million voters voted for Reagan and 35 million for Mondale.

Bearing in mind the fact that 174 million American citizens have the right to vote, we can draw some initial conclusions today about the November 1984 elections in the United States and they read as follows:

-- The general trend of the American citizens mass non-participation in elections continues, despite the fact that voting is described as a "supreme ritual" of bourgeois democracy; over 80 million voters did not consider it necessary to go to the polls even in the framework of the traditional two-party system;

-- Actually, about 120 million Americans did not vote for the Reagan-Bush ticket, counting those who did not vote at all and those who voted for the Mondale-Ferraro ticket. That is why we can say that the Republican Party candidates for the White House have been elected by less than one-third of the votes of all Americans who have the right to vote, despite their claims that they have achieved a "landslide;"

The main factor that disavows the claim of the ruling circles in the Republican Party of having obtained an "unlimited mandate" for the Reagan-Bush ticket is the qualified approach of the voters to the candidates of the House of Representatives of U.S. Congress where--despite the President's tremendous efforts--the Democrats preserved their majority. This "political barrier," as Thomas O'Niell, chairman of the House of Representatives and leader of the Democratic Party in Congress, stated, shows that the American people do not support the economic, social, and fiscal policy conducted by President Reagan. It is worthwhile recalling in this connection that the House categorically expressed its stand on the question of the necessity of negotiations for freezing nuclear arms.

The great goal of the Republican Party presented at the Dallas convention and permeating the entire election campaign in autumn 1984--namely, to achieve a decisive "ideological" reorganization on a conservative basis in the House of Representatives--could not be implemented, despite the fact that the Republicans, according to the data so far, succeeded in obtaining another 10-15 Congress seats. There is even more: the Republicans lost two seats in the Senate, which is under their control.

The Republicans were unable to change the balance in the gubernatorial elections: So far there were 35 governors from the Democratic Party and 15 Republicans--now a change is expected only in the case of one governor's post in favor of the Republicans.

How can we explain the relative success of the leader of the U.S. Republican Party in the election campaign, and what is the reason for his reelection? Today, immediately following the elections, we can point out as follows in this respect:

-- American and foreign observers are unanimous that the political experience and the great experience in administration, as well as the telegenic qualities of the Republican Party's leader and his flexibility, as well as his influence on the mass media, along with the great privileges he enjoys through his high office are among the main reasons for the majority of votes which he obtained from 49 states of the union, while Mondale achieved overwhelming support only in the state of Minnesota and in the election district of Washington, D.C.

-- The economic evolution of the country coming out of a prolonged recession, the coincidence of a certain economic revival with the climax of the election campaign, the President's promises that he will stimulate economic development and reduce the unemployment rate, that he will not impose new taxes and not reduce pensions--all these factors once more attracted the voters to the Republican candidate, including numerous traditional supporters of the Democratic Party, people belonging to the American "political center," and even some trade union members;

-- The exceptional importance of one fact should be pointed out--namely the majority of American citizens were influenced on election day by the

President's frequent declarations, promises, and assurances that he was willing and ready to resume and conduct negotiations on the limitation of nuclear weapons, and was ready for a certain change in his hitherto adopted stand of confrontation to a dialogue aimed at understanding between East and West;

-- The most important and decisive political, economic, and social forces and structures in the largest, most highly developed, and most militarized country of the capitalist world, such as the military-industrial complex, big business, and the monopolized mass media, demonstrated generous, unconditional, and open support and preference for the Reagan-Bush ticket.

-- The intensive and unprecedented campaign, as regards financial expenditures of the strictly centralized Republican Party, with its strongly pronounced ideological, nationalist, and religious character was joined by hundreds of conservative centers, brains trusts, and specially established organizations.

In his speech, delivered late at night, immediately following the announcement of the election results, the U.S. President confirmed the trend of his previous policy and declared that he will use his second term of office to expand his economic and military policy from the very first day of his administration, by striving in particular, to achieve a nuclear agreement from a position of strength. James Baker, the chief political adviser of the White House, pointed out to journalists that there will be no essential change in the government policy, nor can anyone expect any particular personnel changes in the administration.

While certain conservative authors today are "rejoicing in triumph," most initial commentaries about election results in the United States point out the expectation and desire of the American and the worldwide public for objectively necessary corrections of the hitherto conducted Washington policy during President Reagan's second term of office.

CSO: 2200/41

AGRARIAN DAILY ON REAGAN ELECTION RESULTS

AU130946 Sofia ZEMEDELSCO ZNAME in Bulgarian 11 Nov 84 p 4

[Article by Yoan Mateev, "Expert on International Affairs": "The Mandate and the Deficit"]

[Text] Election day had not yet passed in the United States and the Republican camp was already celebrating the victory of its Presidential candidate. The monopolist mass media, closely linked with the Republicans, did not wait for the Democratic Party candidate to admit defeat, but erupted in triumphant cheers over the "landslide," talking about an "unprecedented and unusual," a "demonstrative and convincing" victory. The reelected President himself escalated the rejoicing even more by stating that the American people had unequivocally confirmed their approval "of our achievements in the field of domestic and foreign policy."

It is perfectly natural to rejoice at success. In this particular case, however, a number of "details" evoke reservations about the spontaneity and sincerity of the feelings expressed.

As a matter of fact, we should ask ourselves whether the election campaign staff of the Republicans did not notice things about the election results which are obvious at first glance: namely, that just like four years ago, the Republican candidate was elected with only about one-third of the votes of all American citizens who are entitled to vote. In addition to this, as was pointed out by all observers, the Republicans did not mark any essential progress as regards their representation in Congress and in the state governorship, and the goal which the Republican party set for itself--namely to achieve a drastic change in the balance of forces on the U.S. political scene and to become the party of the majority in the country--was not achieved. Once again, as in 1980, the sober-minded political circles prevail with their opinion that it is not a categorical victory lies in the fact that the opposition party's team did not prove capable of submitting a convincing and inspiring prospect for a genuine and drastic change of the present line of policy.

It is, under all circumstances, quite presumptuous to speak of "nationwide approval" and categorical consent to the present-day domestic and foreign policy. This is why the euphoric enthusiasm about the election victory

reveals, more than anything else, a striving for deliberate and malicious manipulation of election results to the advantage of those who in recent years managed to enrich themselves, in favor of those circles who took advantage of the aggravated tension in the world and of the escalation of the arms race for their own profits. The first alarming symptom demonstrating the truth of this statement is already in evidence. From the very first hour following the election results the old, "new" administration in Washington already exacerbated the situation in Central America, and around Nicaragua in particular, to a dangerous degree. Is this not one of the most characteristic traits of the aggressive, imperialist policy conducted by the United States in the most recent period? Have the constituents really voted for such a policy? The answer is categorically negative, it is contained in the very indignation and shock provoked within the United States itself after the brutal invasion of Grenada.

It is no less dubious to interpret the vote as "approval" and "carte blanche" for domestic policy, especially as regards "Reaganomics." It is indicative, that as early as the very beginning of election results, when the first trends appeared, the exchange rate of the dollar began to fluctuate. What does this mean? It means that the cyclic economic revival which was used as an argument in the election campaign can deceive some less perspicacious voters, but not the exponents of "big business" in the West. They are clearly aware of the fact that the "revival" is not sign of salvation, that it is borrowed from abroad, and that it is burdened by an unprecedented U.S. budget deficit. All this presupposes and even demands drastic measures connected with an increase of taxation or an acceleration of inflation and a subsequent, new increase of the unemployment rate, or--a total economic breakdown. This is the reason why people are beginning to escape from the dollar.

The future will have to show whether "the United States is facing its happiest years," as President Reagan promised. However, on this narrow planet of ours no one is entitled to build up his happy future at the expense of other people's sufferings. Happy days for any nation whatsoever are bound to imply peace, security, and mutually advantageous cooperation. These goals, however, are in short supply in the United States and represent Washington's most drastic deficit today.

CSO: 2200/41



NEAT APPEARANCE OF MILITARY PERSONNEL URGED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 28 Sep 84 p 2

[Article by Major General Petur Saltirov: "Appearance Is a Mirror of Military Self-Discipline"]

[Text] "Without discipline in everything and everywhere we cannot take even a single step forward in our development."--Todor Zhivkov

The main efforts of commanders, staffs and political organs are focused on steadily enhancing and strengthening military discipline. It is to this effect that they engage in specific and purposeful training and education activities aimed at enhancing the conscientiousness of military servicemen. In turn, this helps to turn military discipline into self-discipline and assists the personnel in carrying out their duties under complex combat conditions, develops their ethical behavior and builds up their moral appearance and standards. Increasingly, positive behavioral motivations are shaped in the thoughts and feelings of troops and commanders, with which they properly defend the honor of the Bulgarian soldier and justify the trust in and love of our people for the armed defenders of the homeland. Now, when our party raised at its National Party Conference the question of strengthening the discipline in everything and everywhere, the military servicemen are once again up front in resolving this problem. With their personal example, not only in the barracks but on the outside as well--in the military garrisons, where discipline is assessed by the public and is a mirror of the training-education work of commanders and political organs--they prove in practical terms that they are a model for emulation in terms of organization, discipline and conscientiousness.

Military discipline in the garrisons is manifested particularly clearly in the implementation of the various activities. This involves the participation of troops in military parades, tattoos, laying wreaths at memorial and common graves, participation in solemn meetings, patrols, etc. The circumstances under which these proceedings take place help to increase nationwide respect for troops and commanders and triggers among the troops the aspiration to display high-level discipline and responsibility. Positive results have been achieved in this respect in the Sofia garrison and the garrisons on Plovdiv, Sliven, Varna and Pleven.

The level of military discipline is focused in the personal behavior of the servicemen outside the garrisons. The citizens draw their conclusions on the

state of the discipline in the entire armed forces by the way privates, sergeants or officers behave during garrison leave, official assignments or attendance of military hospitals, movies, theaters and sports events. That is why the servicemen must wear the proper season uniform. His appearance must be proper and he must observe the norms of behavior in public places. He must salute superior ranks, yield his seat in urban transportation to elderly, pregnant women and mothers with small children, not smoke on the street or use alcohol. A great deal has been accomplished in the garrison in Sofia in upgrading the standards of behavior of military personnel. Considerable contribution to this success has been made by the personnel of the Blagoy Ivanov VNVSU [Higher People's Military Signals Academy], the Todor Kableshev VNVTU and other units.

Despite improvements in the condition of discipline in the garrison, isolated negative cases, rusty spots, are still encountered, which darken our satisfaction with achievements. The organs of provost-marshal, the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs], military prosecutor's office and the VAI [Military Motor Vehicle Inspectorate] and commanders and political organs of various ranks are actively participating in the struggle against violations of military statutes. However, the main burden in resolving this difficult problem is assumed by the provost-marshal patrols. That is why the most disciplined and conscientious soldiers are assigned such duties. The members of the provost-marshal's patrols, as officials, have the right to make remarks on the spot or send the servicemen to the provost-marshal's office for a reprimand.

As patrol commanders officers Slavov, Vulkov, Ambov, Mikhaylov, Zakhariev and Pavlov always fulfill their duties conscientiously and impeccably. They skillfully combine their uncompromising exigency with correct, courteous and ethical attitude in interrelationships and the need for firmness in cases of noted disciplinary violations.

Let us recall that in some cases the patrol commander has the right to detain and send to the provost marshal's office military personnel regardless of rank or, in case of opposition or disobedience, to use force. The order of the minister of national defense, the minister of internal affairs and the chief of construction troops specifically regulates interrelationships among military personnel of the Bulgarian People's Army, the construction troops and MVR personnel. It shows clearly that they must obey the provost-marshal's patrols and carry out their instructions.

The officers in the provost-marshal's patrols are not strict and callous recorders of disciplinary violations, for which the culprits are punished. In their activities they use their educational influence whenever they punish. They try not to degrade the honor and dignity of the military personnel. In the course of their daily practical work the organs of the provost-marshal in Sofia hold liable both direct and indirect violators. If a serviceman has been detained for improper or sloppy appearance or with improper documents, other violators exist--the officer who checked him and allowed him to leave the barracks. It is the person who issues improper documents who steadily creates prerequisites for the violation of military regulations, for which reason the target of our disciplinary practice involves the corresponding officials as well.

The question of quality is in the center of attention of army troops and commanders. It is related not only to improving our command-organizational activities but also of changed morality and increased internal self-awareness. It answers the conviction that the excellent commander and soldier must set the example outside the barracks as well and that he must be accurate and strict not only in combat work but in seemingly petty matters such as personal behavior, neatness, general standards and military ethics and morality.

5003

CSO: 2200/14

BCP CC GREETING MESSAGE TO COLOMBIAN CP CONGRESS

AU131444 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Nov 84 p 6

[Report on BCP Central Committee greeting message to the 14th Congress of the Colombian Communist Party, read by Lazar Prichkapov, leader of the Bulgarian delegation and member of the BCP Central Committee, on 8 November]

[Text] With great joy and emotion I am fulfilling the assignment of the BCP Central Committee and of Comrade Todor Zhvikov, its general secretary, personally, to convey to the delegates at the 14th Congress of the Colombian Communist Party and to all Colombian communists and most ardent, comradely greetings on behalf of the Bulgarian communists and on behalf of all working people in the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as to convey their most sincere wishes for the fruitful and successful work of your congress, he declared.

Your congress is taking place at the time of an extremely complicated and tense international situation, Lazar Prichkapov pointed out. The aggressive imperialist forces, and the U.S. administration in particular, are trying to impose a trend of super-rearmament and confrontation and to disrupt the military-strategic parity that has been achieved to their own advantage, thus pushing mankind toward the precipice and the horrors of the thermonuclear war.

Lazar Prichkapov continues as follows: In implementing its global strategy, imperialism is fanning hotbeds of tension and creating situations of conflict in various parts of our planet. One of the particularly dangerous hotbeds of tension is Central America, where the present U.S. administration is using terrorism as a state policy and is intensifying the counterrevolutionary pressure on the peoples in those areas, peoples who are struggling for their true national independence and social progress. This is precisely why the struggle of the peoples in Latin America for a successful resistance against the attempts of North American imperialism to export counterrevolution and to liquidate the revolutionary process in the world is an inseparable part of all peoples' struggle for peace, disarmament, and detente, as well as for social progress.

Permit me, from this rostrum, to express the unshakable solidarity of the BCP and of all Bulgarian people with the heroic struggle of the Nicaraguan

people to defend the achievements of the Sandinista people's revolution, to protect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of their motherland, our solidarity with the struggle waged by the patriots in El Salvador and Guatemala, as well as with the struggle of the communists and of all progressive and democratic forces in Chile, Paraguay, Haiti, Uruguay, and other Latin American countries.

The leader of the BCP delegation briefed the delegates at the Congress on the successes of Bulgarian communists and of all Bulgarian people throughout the four decades of socialist construction in Bulgaria. He dwelled upon the principled foreign policy of the BCP and of our socialist state in protecting the policy of peace and understanding among peoples.

Strong links of solidarity and relations of cooperation exist between the BCP and the Colombian Communist Party, the speaker stated. We are expressing our confidence that these fraternal relations will continue to develop and expand also in the future, that they will assume even larger dimensions on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, in the interest of the cohesion of the international communist movement, in the interest of the common, revolutionary front in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, progress, and socialism, the leader of the BCP delegation declared in closing his address.

CSO: 2200/41

## BRIEFS

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES ICELAND'S AMBASSADOR--On 13 November Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, received Haraldur Kroyer, Iceland's ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with his final departure from the country. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 13 Nov 84]

LEADERS ATTEND IVANOV CENTENARY--The 100th birthday of Anton Ivanov was marked today by a festive meeting in Sofia. It was attended by Comrades Milko Balev, Ognyan Doynov, Georgi Atanasov, Petur Dyulgerov, Dimitur Stanishev, Stoyan Mikhaylov, Vasil Tsanov, Kiril Zarev, and Emil Khristov. Comrade Stoyan Karadzhov spoke on the life and activity of Anton Ivanov, loyal son of the Bulgarian workers' class and noted figure of the party and the revolutionary trade unions. [Excerpt] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 14 Nov 84]

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES WIPO CHAIRMAN--Sofia, 14 Nov (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, received Dr Arpad Bogsch, director-general of the International Bureau of the World Intellectual Property Organization (W.I.P.O.) with the United Nations. Dr Arpad Bogsch is on a visit here at the invitation of the Organisational Committee of the World Exhibition of the Achievements of Young Inventors to be held in the Bulgarian town of Plovdiv in November next year. At the talks satisfaction was expressed with the preparation of the world exhibition and with the cooperation between Bulgaria and the W.I.P.O. The Bulgarian state leader spoke of this country's policy in the sphere of science and technology directed towards the all-round and quick introduction of techno-scientific progress into practice. He also touched on the role of the youth in the realization of this policy, of the work at all levels for the creative development of the young generation. The guest stressed that Bulgaria may serve as an example as regards the care she devotes to her young generation and that the holding of the world exhibition in Bulgaria is a recognition of her efforts in this respect. [Text] [Sofia BTA in English 1900 GMT 14 Nov 84]

CSO: 2200/41

DAILY ON IDEOLOGY OF REVOLUTION

AU072118 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Nov 84 p 4

[Article by Jozef Hrabina, doctor of philosophy and candidate of sciences, in the "On a Theoretical Topic" column: "Ideological Battle in the Revolutionary Process"; passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] /The victory of October showed how to resolve the problems of mankind brought on by the 20th century, problems which are unarrestably evoked by the further revolutionary social development./ The Soviet example produced a revolutionary break in people's thinking throughout the world. It significantly strengthened the role and the international authority of Marxism-Leninism as a science, but also as the ideology of the proletariat. It not only revealed the prospects of the further development of revolutionary theory, it also affirmed its creative unity with the revolutionary practice. It affirmed the unity of Marxism and Leninism. It proved that Leninism is the Marxism of the epoch of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism and of the building of the communist society.

It was only due to V.I. Lenin and to Leninism that reformism and opportunism, which at that time had seized the revolutionary movement, were defeated. At that time already the reformists and revisionists were merely talking about revolution, which they never seriously intended to realize. At the present time, too, the betrayal of the class interests of the workers class is the main reason why revisionism and opportunism enjoy such support among the bourgeoisie and its propaganda centers.

History proves that /the Leninist theory and practice always developed in an uncompromising fight against the class enemies. In revolutionary practice the theory always had to and has to defend the main issue of the revolution--the issue of power./ Practice has confirmed that the transition to socialism is possible only after the workers class takes over power; and that socialism, too, can develop successfully only on the basis of the unity of the party and the people. Only the party and the people, and above all the workers class, are the main force which not only heads the revolutionary socialist transformations, but is also capable of defending the revolution against the attacks of class enemies and speculators. That is why V.I. Lenin was right in foreseeing that every revolution is only worth something if it knows how to defend itself.

Even today imperialism has learned nothing from the past. It continues to stake everything on the export of counterrevolution, on meddling in the sovereignty of the socialist states. On this basis it wants to weaken and break the fraternal ties between Marxist-Leninist parties. It wants to tear the socialist states away from the USSR and gradually restore capitalism in the socialist countries. To promote these plans it uses a differentiated policy as well as promises and threats addressed to those countries of the socialist community which "refuse to function" according to its wishes. These "notions" from the position of strength are also contained in the words of U.S. Vice President George Bush, who declared that, in pursuing a differentiated policy with regard to the socialist countries, the United States will take into account the "individual differences" and will attentively follow their "autonomy" and "independence from Moscow." It will follow the "liberatization" of their policy in economy and in the sphere of human rights. According to these anti-Soviet recipes, the U.S. Government divides the socialist countries into those which can count on a "reward" and those which can count on being "punished." A similar course should also be taken by the U.S. allies in NATO. However, their efforts are in vain.

/The successes of real socialism confirm the inexhaustible possibilities of the socialist society that was born out of the Great October; they confirm the indubitable advantages of socialism over capitalism. The strength of socialism as the main guarantor of progress, peace, and the peoples' security in the fight against imperialism and the threat of a nuclear danger--a fight in which the leading role is played by the Soviet Union and its heroic people--is constantly growing./

Particularly at present, from the viewpoint of the characteristics of the ideological battle of two opposed social systems of capitalism and socialism, V.I. Lenin's conclusion lose nothing of their topicality; he formulated them by generalizing the experience of the first years after the victory of the Great October, and wrote: "Our revolution affirmed better than any other revolution the law that the strength of the revolution, the strength of its onslaught, its energy, its resolve, and the triumph of its victory at the same time escalate the strength of the bourgeoisie's resistance."

That is why, already at the beginning of Soviet power, V.I. Lenin pointed out the enormous role played by socialist ideology and by the party's ideological work in the fight for social transformations. He saw here the further path that must be taken by the revolution. This unambiguously formulated the party's task to fight for the masses and to win them over for the revolution and its development, for the fight against imperialism, exploitation, and reaction. At present, too, this is the center of gravity in the ideological struggle which has become rather more complicated through the fault of imperialism's aggressiveness, and which has taken on the character of a psychological war on the part of imperialism. Its attacks are particularly concentrated against real socialism, and above all against the Soviet Union. This is understandable, because the /Soviet Union represents the decisive link of all world social development and of mankind's transition from capitalism to socialism./ Imperialism is not concealing its main goals. By means of slanders and provocations it wants to discredit socialism and ensure the



growth of the militarist course of the most reactionary circles under the camouflage of the so-called "danger from the East." It is proclaiming that the Soviet Union and the countries of the world socialist community are the root of all evil in the present world.

The concepts of the "Soviet threat" with regard to the left-wing tendencies in the political life of certain capitalist countries are aimed at undermining confidence in real socialism, at intimidating people, at limiting the attraction of the ideas of socialism, and at unleashing broad anticommunist campaigns inside those countries. The purpose of both the "Soviet threat" and the campaigns in defense of "human rights" is to attack the communist parties in the capitalist states and to suppress their influence. Their policy, aimed at developing fraternal relations and cooperation with the CPSU, the CPCZ, and other fraternal parties in the socialist countries, is called antinational. This establishes an atmosphere of war hysteria, which is most frequently used for impeding the coordinated actions of communists and all progressive forces in the fight for peace and to halt the armament race.

The psychological war conducted by imperialism--like the practices of Hitlerite fascism--coordinates and utilizes lies; demagoguery; economic, political and diplomatic pressure; espionage and subversive provocations; military maneuvers; and local armed operations with which it wants to intimidate the revolutionary movement and real socialism. It wants to demonstrate strength, and a corresponding influence on the minds and attitudes of people not only in the socialist countries, but also in capitalist ones; it wants to coarsely meddle in the affairs of sovereign socialist states. In a demagogic way it explains the policy pursued by the most reactionary circles of imperialism as a policy of "humanism" and of a fight for "human rights" in the socialist countries. But in reality it is concerned with achieving hegemony, as in the past. On the whole, one must say that /the psychological war reflects the crisis of imperialism./

Currently the feeling of hopelessness has further deepened in imperialism. An open or concealed pessimism prevails among almost all bourgeois futurologists. It is typical of contemporary anticommunism that it looks in the workers movement for the causes of all ills, and in the fact that certain strata of the population have exaggerated demands. As regards the socioeconomic foundations of the bourgeois society, the ideologists of anticommunism picture them in a way which precludes anybody being able to recognize the causes of the crisis. But at the same time they attack the trade union movement, because its successes--the successes of the workers movement in the fight against the bourgeoisie--are regarded by them as an undesirable factor which allegedly supports inflation and the economic instability of the present capitalist world. There is also no need to comment on the course taken by England's Conservative Government against the workers class and the miners who are fighting for their most basic right--the right to work.

Fascism is the attacking fist [uderna pest] against the revolutionary movement and the workers class. With the aid of U.S. reaction, the neofascist organizations in Europe are publishing large editions of the memoirs, diaries,

and letters of fascist criminals which are helping to revive the most reactionary circles of imperialism against the forces of peace and democracy, against real socialism. In this way they are trying to justify their meddling in the internal affairs of sovereign socialist states, referring to the allegedly new kind of international law, based on the co-called "humanism" of world law in its bourgeois, reactionary, imperialist form. That is why it is at present no longer a matter of merely rehabilitating fascism--because fascism has already entered the stage of history. The bourgeois press openly acknowledges that the neofascist organizations have arsenals, radio stations, mobilization plans, and lists of antifascists and democrats, prepared in order to isolate and liquidate these people at "x" hour. The posthumous children of Hitlerism in the FRG are proclaiming that the "German Reich" continues to exist within the borders of 1937. They declare that the FRG's agreements with the socialist countries are not binding for imperialism. They again voice territorial demands with regard to the CSSR, the Polish People's Republic, the USSR, and other socialist countries. However, they have overlooked the fact that Czechoslovakia is no longer part of the imperialist blocs and of agreements corresponding to them--that it is a firm link of the socialist community and of the Warsaw Pact. They have overlooked the fact that the bourgeoisie no longer rules Czechoslovakia--that it is ruled by the working people under the leadership of a Leninist party.

In the fight against socialism and progress, against the legacy of the Great October, a significant role is also played by the renegades of Marxism-Leninism, from among the ranks of revisionists, reformists, and opportunists. At present they are concentrating their fight mainly against Leninism and against the Soviet experience. Particularly in the West they want to convince the masses that Marxism-Leninism has no comprehensive theory and that there exists an "eastern" and "western" Marxism. In their attacks against the USSR they argue that, allegedly, it was not a case of a socialist revolution in Russia, because there never was any socialism in Russia. The renegades of socialism have fabricated the concepts of "pluralist Marxism," in which Leninism is regarded as merely one of a dozen variants of Marxism. Leninism is ranked together with Bernsteinism, Trotskyism, Maoism, Austro-Marxism, and so forth. For instance, according to the "Marxologist" G. Bartsh, Marxism has about 27 streams and schools; he also ranks among them "democratic socialism," which is very well known to us from the critical years 1968-69. The center of gravity in their fight lies in attacks against the leading role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, against the directing functions of the socialist state. They attack the socialist ownership of production means and the planned system of national economy management. They attack state ownership with concepts of the merits of a "free market" and "free enterprise." They counterpose it to other forms of ownership, and present this as their own discovery in "perfecting" socialism.

Even the rampant renegade concepts are no proof of the weakness of Marxist-Leninist theory and of real socialism. On the contrary, they testify to the offensive onslaught of real socialism. At the same time, this affirms the permanently topical nature of V.I. Lenin's warning that the fight against

imperialism and its ideology would lose all significance if it were not linked with the fight against opportunism and revisionism. Herein, too, lies the legacy of the Great October; its life-giving strength, the strength of Leninism, is manifested in the historic successes achieved by the countries of the socialist community, the communist movement, and the revolutionary and peace-loving forces to today.

CSO: 2400/92

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

**BILAK, AKEL GENERAL SECRETARY MEET**--A CPCZ delegation led by Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party's Central Committee had talks in Larnaca with representatives of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus [AKEL]. The general secretary of the party Ezekias Papaioannou informed the guests about the situation in Cyprus and the efforts of his party to solve the Cyprus question by peaceful means while preserving the integrity, unity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus. The Czechoslovak delegation expressed total support for such a solution and praised the attitude of AKEL which corresponds to the interests of the people of the whole island. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2300 GMT 7 Nov 84 LS]

**GRAPHITE DEPOSITS**--Graphite is currently being extracted on the banks of Lipno Lake and in the Lazec Mine near Cesky Krumlov. In the near future the mines in Lazec and the deposit in Rybarska Street, will be connected; this will lead to an annual extraction of 70100 tons annually. [Summary] [Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Oct 84 p 4 AU]

**NORWEGIAN TRADE PROTOCOL**--Norway: A session of the Czechoslovak-Norwegian Mixed Commission for Trade ended today in Oslo with the signing of a protocol. The subject of the session was current issues of expanding the exchange of goods, and an assessment of the current state and prospects for industrial cooperation and technical cooperation. Both sides noted that opportunities exist for expanding economic cooperation between Norway and Czechoslovakia. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 8 Nov 84 LD]

**BENO RECEIVES MOROCCAN OFFICIAL**--Prague, 8 Nov (CTK)--Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Mikulas Beno received here Wednesday Politburo member and secretary of the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism Central Committee Thami Khyarik [spelling as received] who is on a visit to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the Communist Party Central Committee. The two representatives informed each other about the activities of their parties and exchanged views on topical issues of the present international situation, especially in the Middle East. They evaluated the development of mutual relations of the two parties and expressed the readiness to develop and strengthen them, in the interest of the peoples of the two countries, and peace and progress in the world. [Text] [Prague CTK in English 1649 GMT 8 Nov 84 LD]

DOMESTIC, CEMA COMPUTER--Domestically produced computers and computers imported from other CEMA countries already account for more than 77 percent of all computers used in the Czechoslovak national economy. [Summary] [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Nov 84 p 1 AU]

STROUGAL CALLS FOR SUPERPOWERS DIALOGUE--Mexico City, 12 Nov (NOTIMEX)--CSSR Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal has said here: If a dialogue between the United States and the USSR is not established soon, world peace is seriously at risk. Before leaving for his country, he said dialogue is compromise-oriented and, without doubt, once it is started, tensions will subside. He added that besides discussing space weapons, they will also talk about nuclear arms. A moratorium will probably be established. Strougal explained that production of some weapons will be halted and deployment of missiles will be interrupted for a specified period. He said the danger, which is presently very threatening, can be reduced, minimized, and gradually eliminated if the two superpowers are willing to do so. The Czechoslovak premier, member of the Communist Party since 1958, said: I fear the upcoming days because now they are going to discuss at a certain level when to begin the dialogue between Moscow and Washington. But I believe that once the negotiations are established, tension will diminish.

CSO: 2400/93

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NVA POLITICAL HEAD RULES OUT REUNIFICATION WITH FRG

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 36, 1984 (signed to press 27 Aug 84) p 3

[Editorial by Lt Gen Ernst Hampf, deputy chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army: "The GDR--Our Socialist Fatherland; Full of Pride for the German Worker and Peasant State We Approach the 35th Anniversary of the GDR; the Political and Military Accomplishments Brought About by the Soldiers to Honor the Anniversary Serve the Efforts for the Successful Defense of Peace and Socialism; Political Education in September has become a Significant Event in the Overall Ideological Work"]

[Text] At this time, the commanders, the political and party workers, and the organizations of our party and those of the youth association are carefully preparing for another high point in the worthy preparations for the 35th anniversary of the founding of our German Democratic Republic. All units of the National People's Army and the Border Units of the GDR will conduct their political indoctrination in September under the topic "The GDR--Our Socialist Fatherland." This is a significant event in our entire ideological work.

The interview conducted by the Secretary-General of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR Council of State Erich Honecker furnishes the training group leaders a wealth of suggestions and arguments for talks with the soldiers on some current issues of GDR domestic and foreign policy. They can support themselves on the fact that the course of the 10th SED Party Congress, the leading political force in the republic, leads to magnificent results in everyday life. Everybody, personally and with his family, can feel how the GDR is developing powerfully as a socialist state, how life under socialism brings joy, and how we need not worry about the future. At the same time, our comrades realize very well that the important thing is the conscious act on the part of everybody, that more is demanded of everybody today than yesterday, in order to attain the required output increase--both in the economy and in the armed protection of socialism. Through good political and military achievements, the soldiers of the people strengthen their fatherland and thus themselves contribute to the successful implementation of the policy of the working class which exercises power--a policy that is aimed at the welfare of the people and the preservation of peace. They are filled with pride by the statement made in the appeal on the occasion of

the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR: "Risen from ruin, the German Democratic Republic rose to become a socialist state with a highly-developed economy, an education system recognized worldwide, a rich national culture, and a reliable national defense. Our worker-and-peasant state is on the right side. It maintains close friendship with the land of Lenin. It is firmly anchored in the community of socialist countries."

#### Unshakeable Confidence in the Party

Like the entire people of the GDR, army personnel and border soldiers have unshakeable confidence in the wise and correct policy of the party. The guideline issued by the seventh Conference of the SED Central Committee was met with a great degree of agreement; it means that, now that a start has been made toward the basing of new American first-strike weapons in the FRG, it is all the more necessary to do everything for the defense of peace and for the reliable protection of socialism. The countermeasures by the Warsaw Pact states were met with profound understanding and are an obligation for the soldiers on their part to think deeply how each, at his post, can do his very best to contribute to the military strengthening of socialism.

During the visit of the party and government leadership to units of the ground forces on 21 June 1984, Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized: "A change in the military balance will never be permitted. The imperialist striving for military superiority over socialism has no chance." The personnel of the NVA [National People's Army] understand the seriousness of these words all the more because they themselves daily can feel the party's care for national defense concerns. Led by the party, they master the ways of handling combat equipment which enables us to achieve such a fighting strength and combat readiness that an aggression against socialism will become a deadly risk for imperialism.

Political indoctrination in September helps further consolidate the ideological attitude, the conscious advocacy of socialism and support for our state of workers and peasants. It will help guarantee such a degree of determination among all fightingmen and military groups, such as the imperialist armies can never achieve and it will mean that we will always be well armed for the fight for the preservation of peace by preserving the military-strategic balance.

The past 35 years of successful development of the GDR at the same time are three-and-a-half decades of successful fight against any attempt by the imperialist foe to wipe our republic from the face of the earth. The training group leaders will devote much attention to this fact. Our party sees to it that the worker-and-peasant state discharges its inescapable duty of always guaranteeing the military protection of the socialist build-up effort. Loyal to the best traditions of the worker movement, we implement in the GDR the Leninist principle to the effect that a revolution is worth something only if it knows how to defend itself.

In this connection, the 13th Conference of Delegates of the Party Organizations of the SED in the NVA and the border units of the GDR had this to say: "It

is one of the lasting achievements of our party and its leadership that, through creative application of the generally valid laws of socialist construction in the GDR, a high-level national defense system was created according to plan which is a firm part of the collective defense alliance of the Warsaw Pact states." We entertain no illusions as to the intentions of the enemies of peace. They want to destroy the military-strategic balance which the Soviet Union and the entire community of socialist states achieved and which preserves peace. They want to force an imperialist dictate upon the peace-loving peoples. This is in keeping with the basing of new American medium-range weapons in western and southern Europe, including the FRG, which has brought about a qualitatively greater threat to the USSR and the entire socialist community and which has thus brought about a new military-strategic situation. For the first time since World War II, the threat of war once again springs from German soil, that is, from the soil of the FRG.

#### Socialism in GDR Irrevocable

In his interview, published on 18 August 1984, Erich Honecker stated that there are influential forces in the FRG who consider international political tensions as a kind of tail wind with whose help they can sail in order to revive the revanchist mood-mongering. This is borne out by all of the talk about the "continuation of the existence of the German Reich within its 1937 borders," by the allegedly unresolved German issue and this is also indicated by the completely hopeless speculations of gaining advantages for themselves at the expense of the sovereignty of the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR. Our secretary-general and State Council chairman said verbatim: "The decisive historical defeat, that was inflicted on revanchism, was the founding of the German Democratic Republic 35 years ago and its successful development as a socialist state of workers and peasants in firm alliance with the Soviet Union and firmly anchored in the community of socialist states. Socialism in the GDR is irrevocable." Why this is so and why a unification of socialism and capitalism is just as impossible as the combination of fire and water, that is something which will certainly be the subject of interesting talks during political indoctrination. It is the understanding of this fact that motivates us toward the conscientious accomplishment of the class mission assigned to us by the party of the working class.

#### Military Protection and Political Dialogue

Our party is resolutely in favor of making sure that no threat of war will ever spring from German soil. In line with this, the eighth Conference of the SED Central Committee has established the task of strengthening the GDR on an all-around basis and effectively contributing to the fight for peace. This is why our efforts aimed at the reliable military protection of socialism are combined with constructive political dialogue. The important thing is to win over and rally those forces that are ready and able, together with the Soviet Union and the entire community of socialist states, to inflict a defeat upon the confrontation and arms-race course of the United



States and NATO and to bring about a change toward the better in international political developments. The personnel of the NVA, of the Border Units of the GDR, and the civilian employees have a high degree of respect for the achievement of the Secretary-General of the SED Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR Council of State Erich Honecker is making personally in the fight for peaceful coexistence.

#### Indestructible Brotherly Alliance With USSR

Successfully defending peace is worth every effort during training, during combat and border duty, and on routine duty assignments. Here we stand side by side with loyal and seasoned comrades-in-arms. In this connection, Comrade Erich Honecker made the following comment at the 10th Party Congress: "The indestructible brotherly alliance with the Soviet Union, the firm anchoring of our republic in the community of socialist states--and we want to confirm this at our Tenth Party Congress--is and remains, for our people and forever, the stable foundation of its security and its successes in fashioning the developed socialist society." Our republic never deviated from this basic attitude and it will stick to it in the future.

This is why it is particularly important during the coming political indoctrination effort to make it clear that this brotherly alliance, from the very moment the republic was born, guarantees successful development and that the arms comradeship with the Soviet Union is an expression of this strong brotherly alliance. Thaelmann's idea, to the effect that the attitude toward the Soviet Union is the litmus test for every internationalist determined the 35 years of history of our republic and it applies today, more than ever before, to our present and our future.

The foundation of the firm alliance with the Soviet Union and our steady development is the close fighting community between the Marxist-Leninist parties, between the CPSU and the SED. This tried and proven brotherly alliance gives not the slightest chance to all of the machinations of the imperialist enemy to touch it; it is indestructible. Attempts to split the unity and compactness of the socialist states and their leading Marxist-Leninist parties have always been included in the arsenal of imperialist reaction. During the past 35 years of GDR history, they always proved to be an unfit means and they will fail also in the future because of our party's internationalist policy.

#### Anniversary Year is to be Most Successful Year So Far

The topic "The GDR--Our Socialist Fatherland" is therefore a high point in political indoctrination and in ideological work, to begin with, prior to the anniversary of our republic. We celebrate that anniversary full of optimism, with pride in the SED and the historical achievements recorded under its leadership and with gratitude toward the Soviet soldiers who brought us freedom almost 40 years ago. We celebrate the important anniversary therefore in close arms comradeship with the comrades from the "regiment next-door."

Especially we soldiers clearly understand the unalterable fact that the strength of socialism is primarily the strength of the Soviet Union. The military achievements of millions of Soviet soldiers have decisively prepared the ground for the fact that peace could be defended in Europe for almost 40 years and that a third world war could be prevented. It is a peace of luck for all of us, for all mankind, that the USSR and its glorious fighting forces exist.

The coming political indoctrination effort will deepen the understanding of the correct policy of our party and it will once again convincingly and unanimously approve that policy. Confidently, army personnel, border soldiers, and civilians approach the 35th anniversary of the republic. But they also know all about the seriousness of the dangers that spring from imperialism and they are consciously making their contribution toward turning the anniversary year into the most successful year in the history of the republic and always to guarantee the protection of the GDR, confident in victory and side by side with the Soviet army and the other fraternal armies.

5058

CSO: 2300/83

FALLING BIRTH RATE PERSISTS DESPITE GOVERNMENT INCENTIVES

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 38 No 44, 29 Oct 84 pp 110, 112, 114-115

[Article: "Preferably Unmarried--Despite Generous Financial Assistance, Fewer and Fewer Babies Are Being Born"]

[Text] At first glance, there is nothing unusual about the poster panel at the market in Weimar. Cheerful workers greet chief of state and party Erich Honecker, and in the adjoining scene the indispensable worker controls socialist quality work in the state-owned tubing works.

"Good results," as the caption of the propaganda board reads, should not, of course, be achieved only by workers and farmers. In the third theme, a proud mother bends down over her newborn infant as an indication of the desire of GDR leaders for plan fulfillment in another area as well: the purpose of the poster is to stimulate the citizens to increased reproduction.

As in the FRG, East German population policy-makers are concerned about the continuation of the nation. Whereas in the record year 1980 there were still almost 250,000 babies born (FRG: 620,000), the number of births last year fell to about 234,000 (FRG: 594,000).

And no improvement is in sight. Because of the diminishing number of women of birth-giving age, GDR scientists are reckoning with an even more rapid decline for the 1990's.

To maintain the current population level of 16 million, every family in the GDR would have to bring an average of 2.2 children into the world, but in reality it is only 1.8. East German politicians, just as their colleagues in the West, are therefore trying to encourage the desire for children through moral appeals and financial incentives.

Since the end of the 1970's, the government of the GDR has been propagating the idea of the family with three children as the socialist ideal. "From a pedagogical view," states a brochure for young married people published by the state publishing house of the GDR, "three children...are to be recommended, because only then do they form a collective and only then can the value of the living together of brothers and sisters be fully realized."

To be sure, such appeals are as unimpressive to young couples in the GDR as they are to their contemporaries in the West. According to a study by the

Leipzig Institute for Youth Research, almost two-thirds of all young East German citizens want two children, just under one-third of those questioned want only one child, and only a few dream of three or more children.

To stop the trend to small families, the government has since May been offering special benefits to households with three and more children. Thus employed mothers now receive 18 instead of the previous 12 months of paid baby-leave beginning with the third child. In addition, starting 1 December, they can count 3 years as contribution time into the pension insurance fund for every child. If one of her offspring becomes ill, then the mother can, in accordance with the number of children, stay home as long as 13 weeks a year and receive full sick benefits for this time. "In cases where it is justified," states the new regulation, "the paid leave...can also be claimed by the husband or the grandmother."

Also, after the third child, parents willing to have children do not have to pay back the M5,000 credit that every wedding couple receives from the state (in the jargon of the people: "sex bonus"). And beyond that, they can apply for allowances for children's clothing and toys.

To be sure, it seems doubtful whether the new infusion of money will be enough to have a lasting effect in encouraging the reproductive drive in the people of the GDR. Past experience, at least, speaks against it.

As early as the mid-1970's, the GDR had a clever system of financial incentives to provide for the new socialist generation. Since 1976, young mothers have been receiving a total of 26 weeks of pregnancy leave, and beginning with the second child they can even remain at home for a full year. During this time, they receive maternal support in accordance with their last net income but at least M300 monthly.

A woman, for example, who earned just under M700 prior to her pregnancy receives M525 per month--a considerable sum in terms of its purchasing power or compared to the average pension in the GDR of about M350.

The government of the GDR--always concerned about manpower--has also provided for the later return to the career. The jobs of pregnant women are held open, and employed mothers with two or more children now have to work only 40 hours a week instead of the usual 43.75 hours. In addition, women with preschool children can turn down night and shift work. Almost 90 percent of all boys and girls find a place in one of the state kindergartens.

But even the old tightly woven network of financial and social assistance was only moderately successful in stimulating the willingness of young women in the GDR to give birth. After a modest baby boom at the end of the 1970's, the number of births has again been falling since 1981.

Nevertheless, in its population policy, the government in East Berlin continues to rely patiently on monetary gifts and is thereby overlooking the true causes for the downturn in babies: especially women in the GDR, writes Gisela Helwig, Cologne expert on families in the GDR, "in many cases fear the burdens that result from a career and a larger family."

Over 80 percent of all women between 15 and 60 years of age are employed or in school. Part-time jobs are especially rare in the GDR and also socially undesired. The enterprises have recently even been trying bureaucratic tricks to get women employees who want to work only half a day to work full time. "If a woman is not employed the entire day," says Halberstaedt city councilor Gisela Nagel to justify the gentle coercion, "she diminishes the national income and thus the benefit for the community."

And naturally the men in socialist Germany are also reluctant to give up beloved traditions. To be sure, GDR statutes on the family direct the husbands "to arrange their relationships to each other so that the wife can combine her career and social activities with motherhood." In practice, however, things are different.

Women's magazines in the GDR regularly begin campaigns against the "chauvinism" of men--with modest success. Especially on the weekends, admitted a young woman in a survey of the Leipzig Youth Institute, "many men go to the restaurants and to sports events or devote themselves to their hobbies, whereas the wife does all the laundry herself or takes care of the other housework."

Since there is also a lack of service enterprises such as laundries or shopping places at the place of work, most of the women spend their free time shopping or in the wash-house. On the average, criticizes the brochure JUNGE LEUTE IN DER EHE, women devote more than 37 hours a week to house work, whereas men perform only 5.5 hours of family service.

More and more marriages break up because the husbands neglect the household responsibilities imposed on them by law. There are already 3 divorces per 1,000 inhabitants in the GDR, whereas there are only 1.9 per 1,000 in the FRG.

Almost half of all failed marriages in East Germany lasted no longer than 5 years. Especially women of birth-giving age separate from their partners more frequently than average, that is, before the state's desired planning goal of three children is reached.

Another thing curbing the yearning for large families is the shortage of large apartments adequate for families. Parents with two and more children or single mothers, who by law are to receive preferential treatment in the allocation of apartments, must often wait years for a suitable place to stay.

Waltraud P., a 21-year-old hospital employee in Quedlinburg, for example, lives with her companion and her 5-month-old child in a small one-room apartment. The authorities tell her that only with a marriage certificate would she have a chance for a larger apartment.

But the nurse would like to wait a while yet before marrying--with good reason. The fact is that only single young mothers receive state support beginning with the first child if there is no available place in a day nursery or as long as they are looking after a sick baby.

"If I were to marry my friend," reveals the East Berlin teletype operator Gisela M., "then I would receive no money for the time I spend looking after

my sick children." Although she has already lived together with the bricklayer Heinz P. for years and has two children, she prefers to remain single for this reason.

Meanwhile, the "single-trick" has also filtered through to officials GDR circles. To bring the people to reason who are reluctant to marry, the GDR authorities are appealing to the conscience of the single parents. "It is regrettable," reads the GDR brochure for young married couples, "that a marriage sometimes purposely does not come about or is postponed so as to obtain extra benefits from the society. This attitude is not justified."

To be sure, there are not just financial reasons for the preference of GDR parents to raise their children themselves. An attendant in the state day nurseries must often look after 10 to 20 infants. In addition, there are no places for almost one-third of the small children. To be sure, more and more often day mothers are offering their private services through classified ads mainly in the big cities. But these "mothers for hire" cost between M200 and M250 per month, seven to eight times as much as a place in a day nursery.

There is still another problem that is curbing the desire of many women in the GDR for additional children: the difficulty in acquiring a layette for the baby.

To be sure, GDR department stores such as "Centrum" in Dresden offer inexpensive first outfits for babies for under M100. But, as the Dresden electrical engineer Anne P. complains, "many babies get a rash from the cellulose diapers." Cotton diapers are available in the GDR, if at all, generally only in large packages costing M120. Young mommies in the GDR can only sit in front of the Western television program and dream of "Pampers" throw-away diapers.

"The best thing for one to do," advises the Dresden electrical engineer her pregnant companions, "is to begin hunting for baby clothes just as soon as the pregnancy test turns up positive."

9746

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NOVELS ON WORKING CLASS SAID TO BE LITERARILY INFERIOR

East Berlin SONNTAG in German No 41, 7 Oct 84 p 5

/Article by Margot Gerisch: "What We Urgently Need To Do"/

/Text/ To find a worker figure comparable to Paul Weidauer, it would be necessary to look back in contemporary literary history, it is stated in a critique of Wolfgang Eckert's novel "Familienfoto" (Family Snapshot). Generally the worker has pretty much disappeared from sight in recent prose, is rarely mentioned in oral or written literary discussion. Should the writers come up with a thematic deficiency in the jubilee year of their state? The question should be investigated,

I look at new publications, leaf through them, read. I see that, in addition to Wolfgang Eckert, a whole series of other authors are familiar with the present situation and the history of the life and struggle of the working class. I get acquainted with the quarryman Tobias Hawk (Jurij Brezan, "Picture of the Father") and with the "Salt King" Koorl (Bodo Homberg, "Casting Aspersions on a King") as well as the fisherman Robert Kuester (Egon Richter, "The Death of the Old Man"). From novels by Herbert Otto ("Dream of the Elk") or Johannes Arnold ("As Long as You Live"), I find out about the life and work problems of our plant and combine directors. How young workers find their place in life can be read in Harald Heinze ("I Am Only Nineteen") or Horst Deichfuss ("Windmaker"). Wolf Arnold in his new book ("Futile Fortune") speaks of a very hardworking person who does not find his good fortune anyway. With Landolf Scherzer's work "Captor and Prisoner" reportage is also again seriously under discussion. But in the strange narrations not only the witches frolic, Irmtraud Morgner's Amanda is also Laura Salman, who has to hold her own in the everyday and working world as a Berlin interurban railroad conductor and unattached mother. In general the working women: their presence in the work of contemporary literature probably does not even have to be documented here by naming titles. But even where the solid production topic is involved, where questions of the quality of human working together in the plant are involved, the literary field continues to be supplied e.g. by Harry Kampling ("The Man From the Housing Development"), Claus Nowack ("Forcing a Move" and "Don't Wait for a Medal") or Guenter Ross ("Midsummer").

Male and female workers, work environment--everything is present. I see initiatives and effort by authors and publishers for the continuity of the development of our literature.

But it can be heard from various sides--and that includes authors as well as readers and critics--isn't it true that the subject of productive work has been discredited on account of the frequently too superficial treatment?

The broad reader discussion in the country is evidence of the interest in the literary presentation of topics from the fields of material production and of the life and struggle of the working class in history and at present. As is indicated by the large number of letters concerning the FDGB literature prize discussion, high expectations are always placed on a literature that creates what is uppermost in our mind. Because of the problems they raise and their constructive nature, especially the above-mentioned books by Wolfgang Eckert, Herbert Otto, and Landolf Scherzer among the recent titles are favored by the readers. But also the current formulations of questions in the novels by Wolf Arnold, Horst Deichfuss, Harald Heinze, Claus Nowak or Guenter Ross arouse interest.

Thus there is also no lack of reader interest. How is that now? The writers work on the central topics and that is precisely what the readers want to read. Everything is in good order and the indicated reasons for dissatisfaction are purely pulled out of thin air? But it turns out that the pronounced interest of many friends of literature in the topic of production is no longer by any means identical with the acceptance of the book that was discussed and in demand as a convincingly created art reality; this held still true for the discussions of the sixties. The preponderant part of the readers uses the welcome topics as an opportunity for the debate with the proffered artistic solution. Therefore, of the many titles for which people first reach full of expectation, only few are remembered as specifically literary achievements: thus Jurij Brezan's novel, which many feel is addressed to them emotionally and intellectually on account of its deep humanity, its linguistic succinctness, and its compositional clarity; thus Landolf Scherzer's reportage in which especially the original artistic achievement of the partisan reporter point of view is stressed; thus also Wolfgang Eckert's novel, who was able to gain so many followers on account of his dialectical everyday outlook and his critical constructiveness.

Compared with that other books in final analysis cannot hold their own, after comradely consideration of the pro and con they are frequently dismissed from the discussion with fundamental objections. Despite many a thought-provoking impulse that may perhaps be triggered by the authors Claus Nowak or Johannes Arnold, Horst Deichfuss, Guenter Ross or Harry Kampling with the subject matter for their novels placed in the plant environment, inadequate artistic form is criticized in most cases. Lack of linguistic tightness is deplored, jargon and naturalistic traits gain prevalence. Adhering to the empirical, an all too transparently constructed structure of the action, gross portrayal of characters, inadequate outlining of the social environment of some kind principal characters--all these are frequently and correctly identified shortcomings which in this listing undoubtedly do injustice to the individual work concerned but which appear so obviously that even the undeniable merits of GDR literature are



not reason enough to disregard this deplorable state of affairs without comment.

As F.C. Weiskopf keeps on emphasizing, what is required in literary work is the same precision as that practiced by the worker in producing a machine part. Responsible dealing with everything that is part of the craft of writing is an inexorable demand on the talent at a time when the entire strength of the artistic word must be utilized for the struggles of our time. All the more so in the shaping of the social force that is capable of decisively turning around the fate of mankind toward peace and socialism.

Thus that is to be said at the end: The worker figure is not out of focus in our literature (recent novices such as Angela Krauss, Fritz Leverenz or Beate Stanislau provide strong confirmation for this assertion), it continues to be present despite some impressions to the contrary. However, the fact that this impression could arise has its very real reasons in the effectiveness-determining quality or lack of quality in the treatment of the material. As we know, to change this cannot be achieved by an appeal; not every work can be a masterpiece. However, because of the fact that the public discussion of literature again is concerned a little more with this problem, perhaps--possibly--something would be gained in this direction.

12356

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YOUNG AUTHORS TOO EAGER TO GIVE UP REGULAR OCCUPATIONS

Leipzig BOERSENBLATT FUER DEN DEUTSCHEN BUCHHANDEL in German Vol 151 No 39,  
25 Sep 84 pp 733-736

/Interview with Guenter Goerlich by Jeanette Fischer: "Between Writing and Association Discussions"; date and place not specified./

/Text/ Question: "Whoever assumes a function must be fully committed to it. He has to serve. He does not shy away from these words. But he wants to broaden the contents. Above all what is important, looking at the whole picture, is to make the work as creative as possible," that is what you have your Wolfgang Weiss say in "Die Chance des Mannes" (The Man's Opportunity). Speaking for yourself, to what extent have the 23 years in positions in the writer's association proved to be not only a time-consuming burden but also an inspiration for creative work?

Answer: Perhaps this man Weiss would not have entered my mind as a literary figure without my own functions. His way of looking at things are the result of my decades of activity. Of course, working in a function is always time-consuming. And nevertheless it is especially through my functions that I received intellectual stimulation, got to know a great many people in the most varied institutions and organizations and especially in the work collectives, contacts that are indispensable for the discovery of new literary material. And I believe it is not enough to stand there next to life only as an observer. People must have an activity in which they forget being onlookers as a result of their own responsibility and themselves are participants. Thus I get involved in conflicts, have to make decisions, must scrutinize some things, must "function" in the best sense of the word.

I don't like people who take on a function or work and then complain about it full of self-pity. I have assumed my task, therefore I must also do justice to it to the best of my ability, also for the benefit of my literature.

Question: Which path have you followed for yourself to combine also timewise both tasks, that of chairman of the 460 Berlin association members and that of the author? Isn't it true that the creation of literature requires especially tranquility and seclusion?

Answer: Of course, I need tranquility and possibilities for concentration and I have to see to it that I get them. Seclusion--that probably does not apply to

me. In our association, a democratic organization in the best sense of the word, as honorary chairman I can always depend on the colleagues and comrades on the executive board. They work independently and reliably. This enables me to find the necessary tranquility. But in addition to that, there is the ability to be able to concentrate quickly and, moreover, not to be overly impressed by some things. But that is a matter of practice that is acquired over the years.

Question: This means being able to discipline oneself in performing the function as well as in writing....

Answer: One must also be able to decline, to know precisely what one wants to do and what one creates.

Question: But doesn't writing require quite specific feelings and moods that cannot be fitted into an appointment book?

Answer: True, but in prose what is important is regularity. Thus in principle I write in the morning and if possible keep it free for myself. After finding the story, its rhythm, I am very quickly able to "pick it up" again all the time. Of course, sometimes it may depend on one's condition, health, mood. But one must not depend too much on moods in writing prose.

Question: GDR literature in all its 35 years also has always been literary reaction to everyday social life, to changes in the way of living, in thinking. Frequently the impression arises that coming generations will find out more about us and our time from literature than from other sources. Does the duty to have to refer to current event make writing more difficult?

Answer: The literature of our country is influenced by, and influences, the development of society. The literature deals in its own way with questions that penetrate more deeply--that is their task and possibility. Let us take a literary work of world renown of Soviet literature. "The Quiet Don" says as much about revolution and class struggle as only literature in its complexity is able to do.

Even works that did not get sufficient attention in their time, if they are read again today, are means to comprehend the past.

I see a task for libraries, the book trade, and literary propaganda in "publicizing" this literature, too.

The duty to be topical does not bother me. On the contrary, I enjoy it. Of course in recording current processes people must be aware that they have to be ready to debate. I am happy with the recognition that I find but also with the problems of which the readers inform me in their letters. There is agreement and naturally also sharp rejection which frequently is not without justification. For a person who really participates in life in a conflict sees some things in a different light than it is described in my story.

But there is still another problem. Because of my functions I know quite a bit about social processes--but in writing I must always recapture something like

naivete. I do not forget any of the things that I know--but must repress them nonetheless if I start something new; simply so as not to overload the story; or to paralyze it from the start....

Question: To write on current problems--does that mean abandoning the writing of "literature for the centuries"?

Answer: To be honest about it, I am not particularly interested in that. I have never written with that in mind. Moreover, it emerges only very much later what is going to survive, most of the time quite unexpected. For example, my first book "Der schwarze Peter" (Passing the Buck) is now being read again even though it was a book written for the year 1958. The second, "Die Ehrgeizigen" (The Ambitious) has completely disappeared. It had fulfilled a specific purpose in its time.

Question: Once you recommended to young authors not to abandon the former occupation so as to get more experience of life--that in itself would benefit literature. Did you say that also from your own experience?

Answer: The occupation is the way to get to know people, to be directly confronted with problems, to have to make decisions, thus an immense source for literary material. I did not become a freelance writer until 1964, when I had already published four books. Many writers of my generation practiced an occupation for quite a long time and wrote on the side. Today young writers probably abandon their occupation too quickly. I don't think that is a good thing. What is important is not so much the economic interests but the direct participation--using the occupation as a source of experience, of knowledge of human nature, of the social reality in which one lives.

Question: Your wide-awake interest in the life of the youth of this country, has it also been shaped by your former experiences as reform school teacher? With increasing age, isn't it getting difficult for you to remain in tune with the awareness of life of young people, their spontaneity, their demands and wishes and to assess them justly?

Answer: My interest in young people actually stems from this basic experience, which immediately followed the war experience, of having worked as a pedagogue in a reform school. The material for a few books originated from this experience.

Now I am going to be 57 years of age, other things become urgent, but the interest in the youth continues. My youngest son is now 20 and works as welder and mechanic in the Berlin energy combine. That is the best source of material for me. The experiences of the young generation are different from ours in the past. But there are always basic problems that emerge again all the time, but that are now viewed in a different light. I would welcome it if more young people wrote about their generation--not only about the problems of intellectuals but about the entire range of our society.

Question: Are you able to describe in a few words the share of our literature in the past three and one half decades in the development of a GDR consciousness of the citizens--or would that be overestimating the effect of the literature?

Answer: Hermann Kant once said approximately it should not be expected of literature that a good book would immediately produce a good human being. At the same time he also pointed out that the effect of the literature should not be underestimated. I think that is connected with the fact that with us a great many people take literature very seriously, more seriously than in other social orders. Let me remind you of the effect, for example, of the "Aula" or "Ole Bienkopp."

Question: And now to what extent development of consciousness through literature?

Answer: Simply in the self-understanding concerning processes and problems of life; and also concerning processes that even now are part of GDR history. Literature has always helped tracking them down.

Question: Uncovering of contradictions in everyday socialist life and the unyielding establishment of the ideals which we want to turn into reality, these are two tasks of the writer in our country that frequently cannot be implemented without conflict. What path have you discovered for yourself for productively overcoming these conflicts?

Answer: What is vital is the point of view that one adopts to deal with the conflicts, the contradictions that simply arise from the development. Therefore it is important that one's position is precisely determined. For me this attitude is a matter of course. I cannot do anything else. But this does not mean that I see these things not so clearly, on the contrary. The only thing I know quite precisely is what is good for us and what harms us. Undoubtedly, now and then lack of understanding may be encountered, but such disputes are normal. Constant reviews of one's own point of view on the problems of our time, on the question of war or peace--that is demanded of the person who writes.

Frequently literature anticipates some things, not completely, only in the initial stages, in the searching, in the groping. Sometimes something already valid is also developed. And sometimes it is not correctly understood, later on the matter is then frequently obvious. That is also a function of literature: to anticipate processes, new ways of living.

Question: What is the status of your project to work up a piece of GDR history, that of the fifties and sixties, into a novel that is to go on from "Das Liebste und das Sterben" (The Dearest and Dying) and "Heimkehr in ein fremdes Land" (Return to a Strange Country)?

Answer: Yes, that continues to be on the agenda. We, my generation, are best able to shift the first years of our republic into the consciousness of the people, to report on decisions made at that time, what the thinking of the people was then, to bring back to life what our history is. I consider my material more and more from all sides, should have started a long time ago, but all the time there are other things that attract me....

Question: Your biggest public--that are really the young readers. Are there also plans for a new children's book or a book for young people?

Answer: The age structure of the public has greatly changed after the novels "Anzeige in der Zeitung" (Advertisement in the Newspaper) and "Die Chance des Mannes" (The Opportunity of the Man). The next book that will be published is again one for children--the story "Der unbekannte Grossvater" (The Unknown Grandfather). Up till now I have always published one book with the Kinderbuchverlag and the next with the Verlag Neues Leben. I do not know whether I am going to continue doing that in the future.

Question: We wish that for you and the readers.

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DECLINING STANDARDS IN BOOK PUBLISHING NOTED

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[Article by Prof. Dr Albert Kapr: "The Art of Book Publishing in This Country"]

[Text] It is a truism: We have advanced in this field, too, and now GDR book publishing can be proud of itself in an international comparison. In recent years, a series of outstandingly designed and printed works were produced whose top achievements approach the area of the artistic and of which we can be proud.

But was it the special feature of this development? It was during the iba (International Book Fair) 1959 when Carl Dair, the Canadian comrade and author of a technical book on typography, engaged me in a discussion. He wanted to know wherein the specific form of our books consisted. He, coming from overseas, can hardly find any difference in the outward appearance of the books of the GDR and the FRG, he said. I answered then that the difference is in the different content of many books, also the comparatively low price of our books, that makes wider dissemination possible. I said on the other hand it was less important that the typographical form actually shows some agreements.

Old Experiences--New Influences

How would I answer such a question now? First some preliminary remarks: The form of the book is the result of its content and text, its function and the circle of readers and viewers to be addressed. This esthetic maxim is the outcome of experience gathered through centuries. The form of the belletristic book is determined by the eyes and hands of the reader. And the reception of the scientific book, the nonfiction book, the school book, and the children's book takes place in the GDR not significantly different than in other countries of the world.

But there are influences that cause change. In view of the increased world market prices for printing paper, ink, and binding material in recent years, there are economic pressures to save paper by a greater type area, less interleaf, smaller type size, and a two- or multicolumn composition. This effort is understandable to a certain extent, but the limit of good readability, which also possesses esthetic components, must not be violated. It must never come

to the point where the worker coming home after finishing work, who wants to read a book but puts it aside tired, because the bad paper, the too small type or the poor print make reading too strenuous.

Other problems arise from the changeover to phototypography, to partially automated setting and to assembly-line bookbinding. All these innovations are necessary but they must not lead to a lessening of quality. This is not the place to look for possible causes of irregular color in offset printing, especially in the text run-on, unevenness in folding, the unevenly cased-in inner book, the round forms of the backs of the books that are uneven or not done at all, etc. Some role presumably is also played by the underestimation of the formation of the quality consciousness in the apprentice workshops as well as also in the universities and technical colleges. Under no circumstances must the esthetic and technical quality consciousness be reasoned away in the technical revolution.

#### The Best Possible Under Existing Conditions

Aside from the GDR, other socialist and nonsocialist industrial countries have these and similar technological worries and it is only a question of management how they can be met. When today Japan and Switzerland are frequently tops in book art competitions, this will probably be connected with the fact that these countries have known how to combine the craft quality consciousness with the introduction of computers.

But the initially asked question concerning the special profile of the GDR book art has not yet been answered. While in the case of the book the artistic and material quality cannot be separated, for even the paper and binding material used constitute an esthetic value, we have to state self-critically that the materials used in book publishing frequently are not satisfactory and reduce the quality of the printing. We are aware of the tight situation of our economy and must do as best we can under existing conditions.

And here--so I believe--lies a strength of GDR book publishing, namely that typography is generally looked after with imagination and care. After all, writing and typography are the most important elements of the book. Writing makes the text readable and congruent or adequate typography can make life easier and the joy in reading can be reawakened all the time. The creative tension between classical typography on the one hand and elementary typography on the other hand is fully utilized in the direction of a purpose-oriented attitude toward each task at hand for original solutions. By means of the typeface settings now developed in the GDR and responsibly revised replicas of the best classical writings, a good supply of digitalized types is developed that need not shy away from a comparison with other countries.

#### Positive Special Features

A second special feature concerns the variety of the illustrative manuscripts. In contrast to the FRG and other Western countries, where illustrated books of the belletristic literature are published almost only by the press and in bibliophilic societies, the illustrated book enjoys great popularity in the GDR and the other socialist countries. In children's books and books for young



readers we see a way of introducing the young reader to literature as well as to the fine arts. And in the illustrated belletristic book the strain between the text experience that has been read and the impression of the picture that has been seen may become the trigger for personal involvement in thinking and feeling.

The third and most important special feature of the GDR book art is its humanist concern, the effort to provide the purchaser of the book not primarily a seductive cover or imposing white paper edges but a typographically well prepared text, a form that completely serves the reader, and an effort to get the book into the hands of the book trade at the lowest cost possible.

### The Problem of Quality

Simplistically it could be said concerning the present situation: the minus of paper and material quality is faced with a plus of form quality. But this assessment is based on the selection of the "most beautiful books of the GDR" and a corresponding international comparison. The potential customer is sometimes faced with a different situation and that provides the reason for some critical additional remarks. (In doing so, I intend to concentrate on the situation in the GDR even though similar trends can be observed worldwide.)

Many of the commercial books offered in the bookstores, the so-called popular books, are of poorer quality than a few years ago. It cannot be discussed here whether this is caused by the material situation, more frequent printing on rotary presses, phototypography, work organization or all of these factors combined. On the other hand, the person visiting the bookstore also finds excellently produced books, especially picture and art volumes, which, unfortunately, are rather expensive. Now it could be said with some justification that similar phenomena can also be observed in the supply of the consumer goods industry where the spread between "normal" and exquisite quality has become greater.

But books and shoes can be compared only in a qualified sense. It hurts to have to see good literature in bad print quality or to have a charmingly illustrated children's book spoiled by soft or brownish paper. Undoubtedly, grandmother will also buy this children's book if no other can be found (thus the economic parameters are correct), but the grandchild will appreciate the children's book it received less. If the books of today are the deeds of tomorrow, as Heinrich Mann expressed himself once, such a scant regard for the book could also lead sometime to deeds which are not commendable. Books are vessels of the mind and one gets enraged when they are treated or produced like shoes or even worse than shoes.

And then we even find voices saying that the GDR jury for awarding prizes for the most beautiful books should change its standards and should adapt itself to the present possibilities of technology. The internationally valid standards must remain and also the sentence that the low-cost popular book is the center of our effort must retain its validity in a socialist country. The new technology must provide at least the same quality as that of the past years and it is able to do so.

## For the High Standard

In the future, too, we are going to produce beautiful and even more beautiful books, but we must become intolerant to sloppiness. And in this effort not only publishing and the printing industry but also the paper industry and wholesale responsible for paper and materials must achieve better cooperation. The basic values of GDR book culture are also political values since they concern the intellectual development of the people and the international reputation of the GDR and here compromises should be out of the question.

If a fairy godmother would grant me three wishes--concerning GDR book culture--on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the GDR, my answer would be:

--I wish that the new technology will provide at least the same quality as that of former years.

--I wish for more quality consciousness among all those who are involved in the production of our books, among the colleagues in publishing, and of the printing industry and among those who are responsible for supplying materials.

--I wish that the book in the GDR be valued not as a commodity per se as it is done elsewhere but that it is recognized as a cultural asset and successfully defended with imagination.

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MILITARY USE OF MICROELECTRONICS IN SIGNAL PROCESSING

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5, 1984 (signed to press 13 Jul 84)  
pp 271-273

[Article by Comdr Ch. Oehme, engineer: "Using Microcomputers for Signal Processing"]

[Text] 1. Signal Processing by Digital Computers

With the progressive development of microelectronics, digital computers are being used more and more for signal processing in military technology. For example, major advantages result from converting analog weapon control radar stations, as we mainly find on warships, to digital systems.

In the ballistic and other corrections to be made, the tracking signals are processed by digital computers so that the corrections can be computed and made more accurately than previously. The numeric or alphanumeric data on muzzle velocities and ballistic coefficients, and on possible ranges and target heights of grenades and rockets can be stored in these systems. After interpolations made by a computer, the projectile flight times and the signal values required to compensate for gravity for the respective velocity, ballistic coefficient, height and range are obtained from the data.

Signal value precision increases in digital systems since the analog amplifier balance is no longer a determining factor. A digital computer can also continuously check itself. With such equipment, very high reliability values are attainable with low maintenance cost.

In no way are digital computers just a better substitute for analog computers in weapon systems. Rather, they increase their performance and combat value enormously. This is due, for one, to the capability of storing data such as measured signals of targets. A target can, or rather several targets can, depending on the call, be fought immediately. For another, there is a variety of programs (series of instructions for digital computers) which allow adapting to the respective situation. The programs contain, for example, procedures for engaging sea and air targets. Expected target behavior such as collision course, diving attack, etc. is taken into account in them, and after processing several acquired signals, an exact decision for engaging the target can be made.

Modern digital computers will be integrated into current and future weapon systems. Thus, simpler optimal information signal extraction from a frequency spectrum acquired by the ship antenna is emerging where costly operations were required previously. In this signal processing, the information signal must be filtered out from a profusion of interfering signals, from active enemy jamming, from the interfering echo of the sea surface and the weather and from the receiver noise. Then the target parameters and others have to be determined by multiplication with adaptive (self-adapting) filters, division to standardize on a signal level, and squaring to form the signal amplitude and select the maximal value to determine.

Because of the size of the early devices, digital systems could be used only on large warships. Computers based on microelectronics with their small size and energy consumption, relatively low cost and their high reliability and precision allowed such systems to be employed on warships and boats as well. Metrology and positioning technology, however, are still obstacles to this.

## 2. Signal Processing by Microprocessors-

In dealing with the signal processing problem from an engineering view, we have to consider which components produced by microelectronics have the advantage. Applying monolithic, large-scale integrated circuits allows using not, as up to now, the "hard-wired" logic with its low complexity and efficiency in some cases, but a "programmable" logic with considerably better properties as well.

Since the mid seventies, the capability of implementing the central unit (control unit and arithmetic and logic unit [ALU], also called the processor, and the main storage and I/O units) of a digital computer as an integrated circuit on a chip area of  $0.6 \text{ cm}^2$  or less has been available. Circuits are now being developed with a density of a million logic function units per square centimeter, wafer thickness of 250 micrometers, and a storage capacity of up to  $100 \text{ M bits/cm}^3$ .

The microprocessor (MP) enables the multiplication of human intelligence. It is a digital system for controlling devices and processing data. The LSI circuits in it connect the digital signals (0, 1), the elementary switching functions (AND, OR ...), simple arithmetic functions and counter and storage functions logically to each other.

Fig. 1 shows the functional units of one such processor. In it, the input data existing as digital signals are transformed according to a computational specification (algorithm) into output data (signal processing). The data unit converts the data which contains the program unit and controls the algorithm steps needed for this. If the digital system is made with hard-wired logic, both the program and data units are designed just for one special application.

With a microprocessor, the digital system has a hard-wired, universal data unit for execution of logical and arithmetic operations especially in the ALU. The algorithm needed for this is stored in the program memory as a series of standard instructions (programs in the form of series of bits).

Only by a program does the universal microprocessor become a special component oriented to a certain application. In the microprocessor, the control unit is implemented as hard-wired logic. It interprets the instructions in the program and causes operations in the data unit through the signal lines.

When the microprocessor component is provided with other components (ROM, RAM, I/O, bus, control logic, register, interface, power supply, and others), a digital system of a higher order, the microprocessor system (MPS), is produced. It is the base for microcomputers and microcomputer systems. Fig. 2 shows an example of a microprocessor system in the latter performance class as produced by the Erfurt Radio Plant Combine VEB.

A microprocessor system operates in essentially two steps: In the first, the microprocessor fetches the instruction code from the program memory into the control unit and decodes it. The second step is the instruction execution. Operations possible in the process are moving operands to/from data storage and executing logic or arithmetic operations in the ALU. Both steps are repeated again and again until program processing ends or is interrupted by external intervention.

Program and data storage are standard integrated circuits with a uniform switching structure (matrix structure). The microprocessor processes binary coded signals, i.e. it manipulates data according to an instruction.

Let us assume a microprocessor has eight data lines through which the digital signals are sent/received in parallel as defined voltage values, e.g. 0.5 V (low level) corresponds to a zero bit and 2.5 V (high level) to a one bit. This corresponds to a word size of eight bits, e.g. 10011011. The eight positions in this code word have, starting from the left, the values  $2^7$ ,  $2^6$  ...  $2^0$ . With this code word, the decimal values from 0 to 255 ( $2^8$  different variations of the code word) can be represented in binary code as a series of two different voltage levels.

A code word used in the U808D microprocessor has the bit pattern 10000111, decodes as ADD M, and means: Add the contents of storage location M to that of the accumulator (the ALU central register). First generation microprocessors have a word size from 2 to 4 bits; those in the second, 8 and 16 bits. Intensive development is now underway on 16- and 32-bit microprocessors.

Digital signals can be stored. Here is an example to illustrate. The keys for an eight-position switch can be pressed or not pressed. When a key is pressed, the contact is at the high logic level and a one is thereby entered and stored. A key not pressed means a zero (low) is input. In all, an eight-bit code word can be input this way. The information stored this way can be read out (interrogated) as often as needed. The key switch (storage) in question can be reset with a new value as often as needed. Since, in the example, each storage location (key) is accessible randomly, storage functioning this way is called RAM (random access memory)--a read/write memory (data memory). RAM's (U202, U252 ...) are made with semiconductor memory (a memory element is an internal flip-flop) and used for data storage.

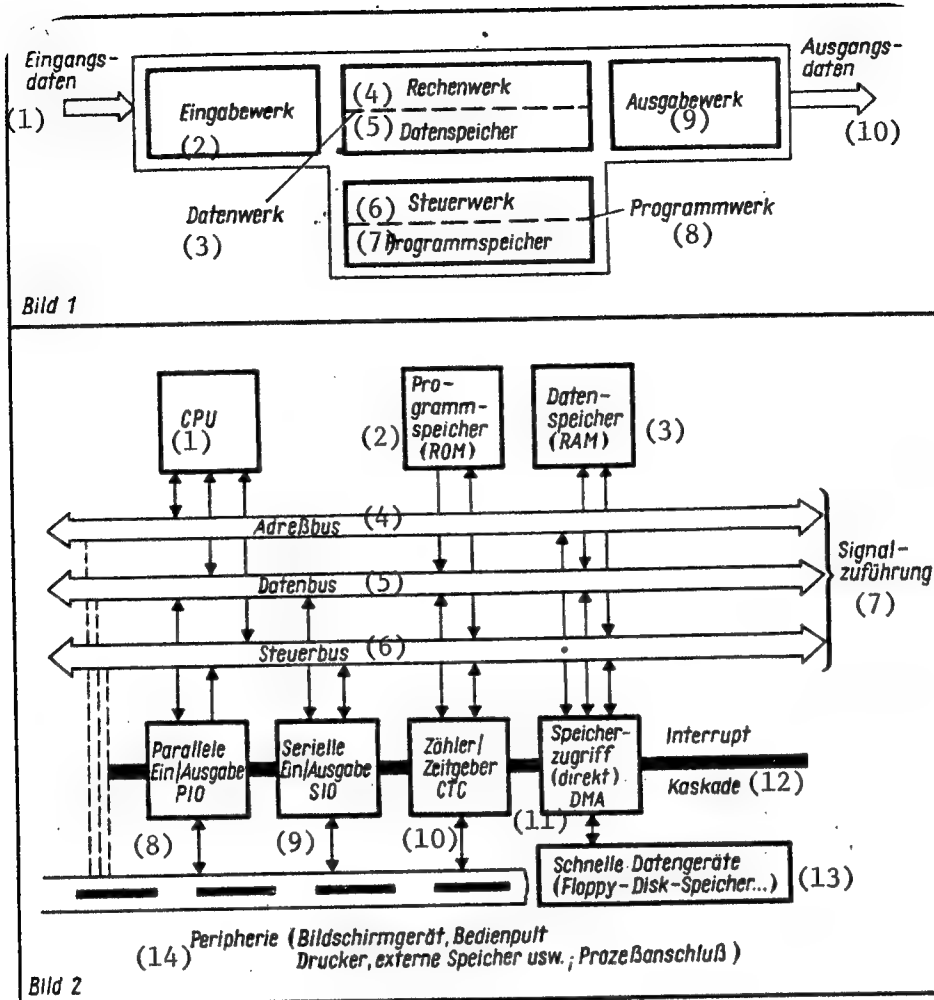


Fig. 1. Digital system functional units

Key:

- |                                    |                    |
|------------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. input data                      | 6. control unit    |
| 2. input unit                      | 7. program storage |
| 3. data unit                       | 8. program unit    |
| 4. arithmetic and logic unit [ALU] | 9. output unit     |
| 5. data storage                    | 10. output data    |

Fig. 2. Microprocessor system

Key:

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1. CPU [central processing unit] | 10. CTC, counter/clock   |
| 2. program memory (ROM)          | 11. DMA, direct memory access  |
| 3. data memory (RAM)             | 12. interrupt cascade  |
| 4. address bus                   | 13. fast data devices (floppy disk storage ...)  |
| 5. data bus                      | 14. peripherals (display, operator console, printer, external storage, etc.; process connection) |
| 6. control bus                   |  |
| 7. signal feed                   |  |
| 8. PIO, parallel input/output    |  |
| 9. SIO, serial input/output      |  |

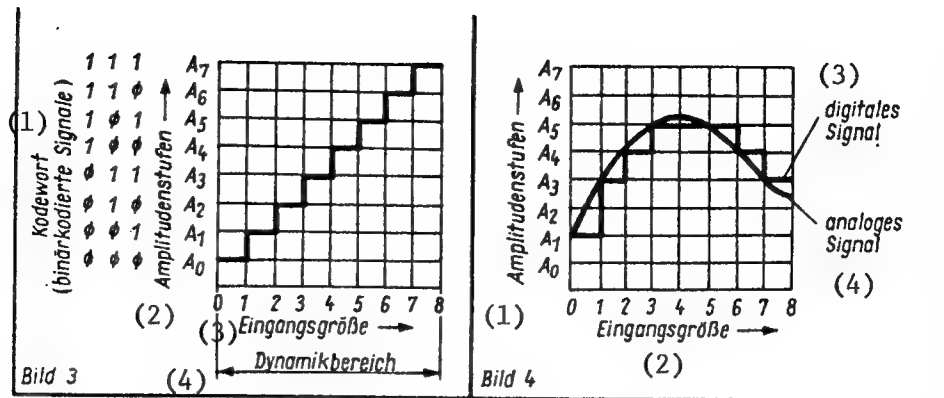


Fig. 3. Quantization characteristics of an analog-to-digital converter      Fig. 4. Quantization of an analog signal

Key:

1. code word (binary coded signals)
2. amplitude levels
3. input values
4. dynamic range

Key:

1. amplitude levels
2. input value
3. digital signal
4. analog signal

ROM's (read only memory) are used for program storage. This memory has fixed values. The information stored can only be read, but not changed, by the microprocessor.

### 3. Problems of Digital Signal Processing

As already stated, a major application of microcomputers is signal processing. Digital signal processing includes primarily filtering and spectral and correlation analysis of given functions. The advantages of digital signal processing over analog lie among others in

- problem-free processing of even extremely low frequency signals,
- high flexibility by which the use of flexible automation is offered as a new form of automation,
- easy adaptability,
- basically any processing precision,
- problem-free signal storage and
- easy implementation of even complex algorithms.

Microcomputers are also being used to control digital signal processing systems. A task to be managed in the process is data acquisition (acquisition of the digital signal stream from the signal source including signal conversion from analog to digital by using an ADC). Other tasks are data processing according to a specified program and data output (results) to the signal sink.

The limits on using microcomputers in signal processing lie in their low computing rates which unfavorably affects the real-time mode required in military processes. Thus, for example, for addition of a 12-position decimal number, a 4-bit computer requires about 2000 microseconds; an 8-bit computer, 100 microseconds; and a 16-bit computer, 30 microseconds.

Microcomputers take precedence over digital systems with hard-wired logic especially when there are measuring problems of higher complexity (signal analysis and others) with input data changing frequently and arithmetic operations are required for their solution. They are also used when a larger number with respect to data must be put into intermediate storage or different types of tasks can (have to) be solved with a unified hardware, i.e. when several microcomputers of one type are used to control radar, fire control, propulsion and other systems. Finally, they are advantageous when a higher operating cost is required for better human intervention in the system.

As a rule, 8-bits words are inadequate for digital signal processing. On the other hand, 16-bit words afford a good compromise between attainable dynamics, signal-noise distance and operating costs. In general, this rule applies: As the word size increases, the digitalization (quantization) error, which occurs during analog to digital signal conversion, decreases.

For example, radar stations send and receive analog signals which must be converted into digital signals for digital processing. Fig. 3 shows the conversion principle.

An analog signal (input value) is first sampled at certain times in the dynamic range and converted into a finite number of permissible amplitude levels ( $A_n$ ) (fig. 4). Because of the finiteness of analog-to-digital conversion, these are just a rounded version of the analog signal. Quantization produces a quantization error. The amplitude levels are then encoded to binary coded signals and fed as a code word e.g. to a microprocessor for further processing.

The C520D ADC, an LSI component with more than 1,200 functional units, converts input voltages from -90 mV to +999 mV with a resolution of 1 mV into BCD (binary coded decimal numbers) words (word size of 4 bits). It is suited to measured value display and processing systems.

In conclusion, it has been established that because of their advantages, the new form of electronic computers, the microcomputers, are penetrating into military technology areas previously inconceivable and lead to a major increase in their performance. This process is being stepped up by the progressive miniaturization and performance increase of electronic computers. More and more military authorities are coming into contact with computers. It is imperative to master these challenging changes in military affairs.



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## WARTIME POPULATION WATER SUPPLY PROBLEMS DISCUSSED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 25 No 4, Aug 84  
(signed to press 15 Mar 84) pp 148-152

/Article by Lt Col Dr Ch. Weigend, MD, Col Dr G. Menzel, MD, and Lt Col  
Dr. E.-J. Finke, MD: "Drinking Water as a Transmission Factor of Human  
Pathogen Organisms"/

### /Text/ Summary

We start from an analysis of the epidemiological and ecological conditions of the territory, which are relevant in various situations. We then try to present various starting conditions for possible developments of epidemics based on drinking water. By specifying the characteristics of situations involving standard conditions, accidents, catastrophes, and war, we can draw conclusions which can represent a general orientation in the specification of prevention and combat strategies.

### 1. Introduction and Objective

Historical experience teaches that epidemics caused by contaminated drinking water can quickly lead to considerable damage to the national health and economy. To prevent this, to detect and combat it immediately where the circumstances call for this, was and is an urgent task that must be solved in terms of the social interest. The opportunities for this are quite manifold, in dependence on the territorial contingencies and the epidemiological starting condition. For this reason, they must be subjected to a systematic consideration. In this way, one must measure the present status of measures for protection against infection, and must derive the necessary conclusions.

The first part of this paper pursues the objective of describing four possible basic situations, which require qualitatively and quantitatively different measures for preventing and combating epidemics caused by drinking water. Two further papers will consider the initial situations that have been presented, and will explain the significance of bacteria and viruses in the generation of drinking-water epidemics.

## 2. Epidemiological-Ecological Basic Situations

Several possibilities suggest themselves from an epidemiological point of view for classifying the potential epidemic hazards to the population of a territory. For example, according to Schreiber (11), one can specify according to natural events (earthquakes, floods) and so-called man-made catastrophes (explosions, traffic catastrophes, configurations). In such a classification, the aspect of avoidability has a certain target function.

The purpose of the classification proposed here is as follows:

- It should provide a stimulus of a systematic or wholistic consideration of conditions prevailing in certain basic situations.
- Thus it should assist the formulation of designs or strategies for the content and scope of possible anti-epidemic measures.

Starting from an analysis of epidemic-promoting factors, which can act on social life under various conditions, the initial situation as shown in Figure 1 can be formulated for the development of drinking-water epidemics.

By way of restriction, it should be noted here that

- the basic conditions analyzed here apply primarily to developed countries with predominantly centralized water supply,
- what is involved here is an evaluation of the starting situations from which an epidemic can arise, but not the classification of the epidemic itself.

### 2.1 The Standard Situation (8, 10)

Under this heading are to be understood the ecological contingencies that have been observed for many years and the epidemiologically relevant conditions of the territory with a favorable overall situation.

One can cite the following as general classification criteria (Figure 1):

- The ecosystems (biotopes and biozooenoses in the territory) are not disturbed;

A generally well-known exciter spectrum, which is typical for the particular area, is found by microbiological investigations, based on epidemiological and clinical indications.

- The infrastructure is intact;

The agencies of government are operational, have available functional means of mass communication, and can immediately free up the necessary forces and means for rendering assistance.

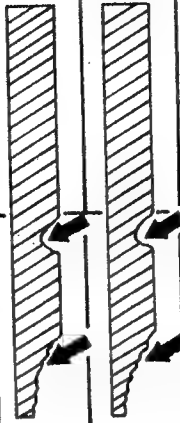














(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Grundsituation	Keim-spektrum	Öko-system	Infra-struktur	Infektions- quelle	Übertragungs- faktor	Empfäng- lichkeit	Defekt- typ
"normal" (9)	(13) typisch						-
"Havarie" (10)							(15) mono- faktoriell
"Katastrophe" (11)	(14) typisch und atypisch						(16) oligo- faktoriell
"Krieg" (12)							(17) multi- faktoriell

Figure 1: Basic Situations of Possible Epidemic Developments

Key:

- |                        |                          |                    |
|------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Basic situation     | 9. Standard              | 17. Multifactorial |
| 2. Germ spectrum       | 10. Accident             |                    |
| 3. Ecosystem           | 11. Catastrophe          |                    |
| 4. Infrastructure      | 12. War                  |                    |
| 5. Infection source    | 13. Typical              |                    |
| 6. Transmission factor | 14. Typical and atypical |                    |
| 7. Sensitivity         | 15. Monofactorial        |                    |
| 8. Defect type         | 16. Oligofactorial       |                    |

The population is assured of a supply of drinking water, electricity, gas, heating energy or fuels, as well as foodstuffs, means for personal hygiene, medications, and disinfectants.

The service sector fulfills completely the requirements of the population as regards medical and veterinary facilities, the elimination of pests, laundries and communal operations of waste water and refuse removal, as well as transportation.

All control systems are operating normally and provide an early signal of possible epidemic hazards.

It is characteristic of the standard situation that a large number of barriers or blocks prevents the exciter's access to a sensitive population. Such barriers to avoid epidemics mediated by drinking water are (Figure 2):

- instant disinfection of the excrements of known or potential infectious sources

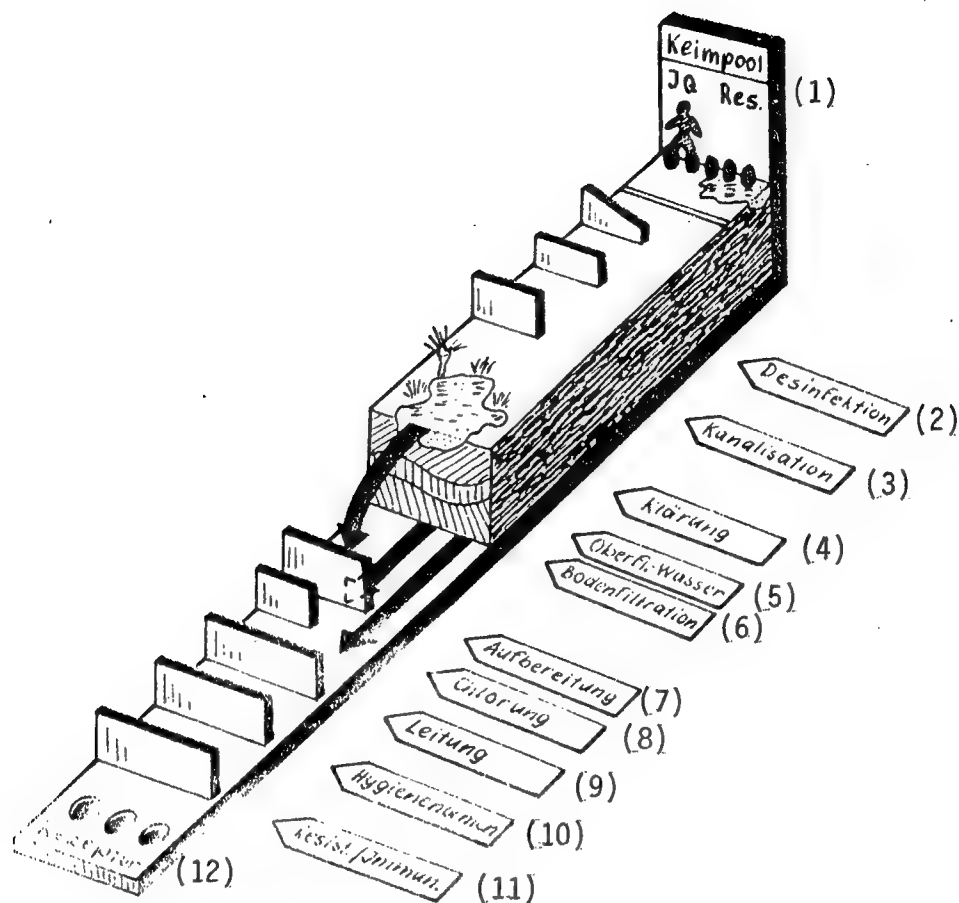


Figure 2: Diagram of the Barrier System in the Standard Situation

Key:

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. Germ pool,<br>infection source,<br>reservoir | 6. Ground infiltration  |
| 2. Disinfection                                 | 7. Purification         |
| 3. Channelization                               | 8. Chlorination         |
| 4. Clarification                                | 9. Line                 |
| 5. Surface water                                | 10. Hygienic standards  |
|   | 11. Resistance/immunity |
|   | 12. Receiver            |

- the channelization ("forced path") of waste waters and their mechanical or biological purification
- the germ-killing influence of physical and biological factors (e.g. the bdelloyibrios) in surface waters
- the filtering action of ground layers, which protects against the contamination of the ground water

- the purification of the water in the water works which sometimes is associated with disinfection (chlorination)
- the hygienic standards and behaviors of the population, which have a barrier character (e.g. avoiding the intake of unboiled water)
- finally, the existing level of resistance and immunity on the part of the population, which strongly restricts the epidemic propagation of pathogenic excitors.

In brief, one thus obtains for the characteristic of the standard situation:

- a typical, biotope-bound exciter spectrum
- little exposure and disposition on the part of the populace.

## 2.2 The Accident Situation (1, 8, 10, 14 15)

The conditions of the standard situation also apply to combating epidemics in accident situations. There generally is a monofactorial defect in the barrier system. Thus, biotope-specific and thus largely known infection excitors reach the drinking water (Figure 3). The result is that the transmission process is highly activated, with an associated increased exposure of the population. This can cause drinking water epidemics. But on the basis of an intact infrastructure, these can be quickly and purposefully liquidated through the usual detection and combating measures.

Accordingly, the accident situation is characterized as follows (Figure 1):

- a generally monofactorial defect in the barrier system with a relatively brief activation of the transmission process
- a typical, biotope-bound exciter spectrum
- optimal combating possibilities based on an intact infrastructure.

As can likewise be seen from Figure 1, the sensitivity of the population is not changed.

## 2.3 The Catastrophe Situation (2, 4-7, 9-13, 16)

In comparison to an accident, catastrophe conditions are characterized by a new quality. A brief-to-medium impairment of the infrastructure and eco-system occurs in defined areas of a territory (Figure 1).

As a rule, a multiple defect is already present at the beginning of a catastrophe (broad destruction entailing the necessity of evacuating population groups with simultaneous restrictions of the foodstuff supply, and waste water and refuse removal, etc.). Consequently, the available capacities initially permit only limited concentration on problems of the water supply.

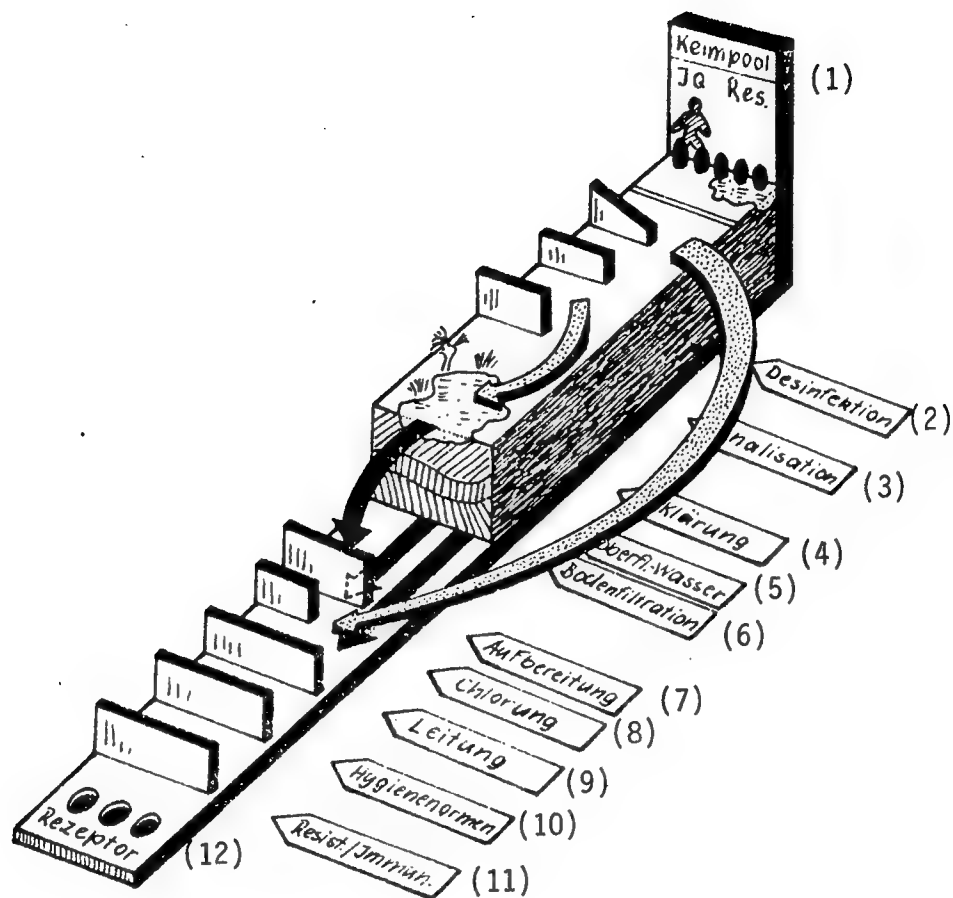


Figure 3: Diagram of the Barrier System in the Accident Situation

Key:

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. Germ pool,<br>infection source,<br>reservoir | 6. Ground infiltration  |
| 2. Disinfection                                 | 7. Purification         |
| 3. Channelization                               | 8. Chlorination         |
| 4. Clarification                                | 9. Line                 |
| 5. Surface water                                | 10. Hygienic standards  |
|   | 11. Resistance/immunity |
|   | 12. Receiver            |

Local drinking water supply systems will fail in whole or in part (floods, earthquakes), or the increased demand for water (extreme droughts) temporarily force the use of reservoirs which are not used or released for the population under conditions of the standard situation. Although, even under catastrophe conditions, a centralized water supply is desirable, water transport furthermore must take place with vehicles, surface water must be used, and the supply must be drawn from emergency or reserve storage systems. The barrier principle which is effective under the conditions of this standard situation is thus violated in several ways (Figure 4).

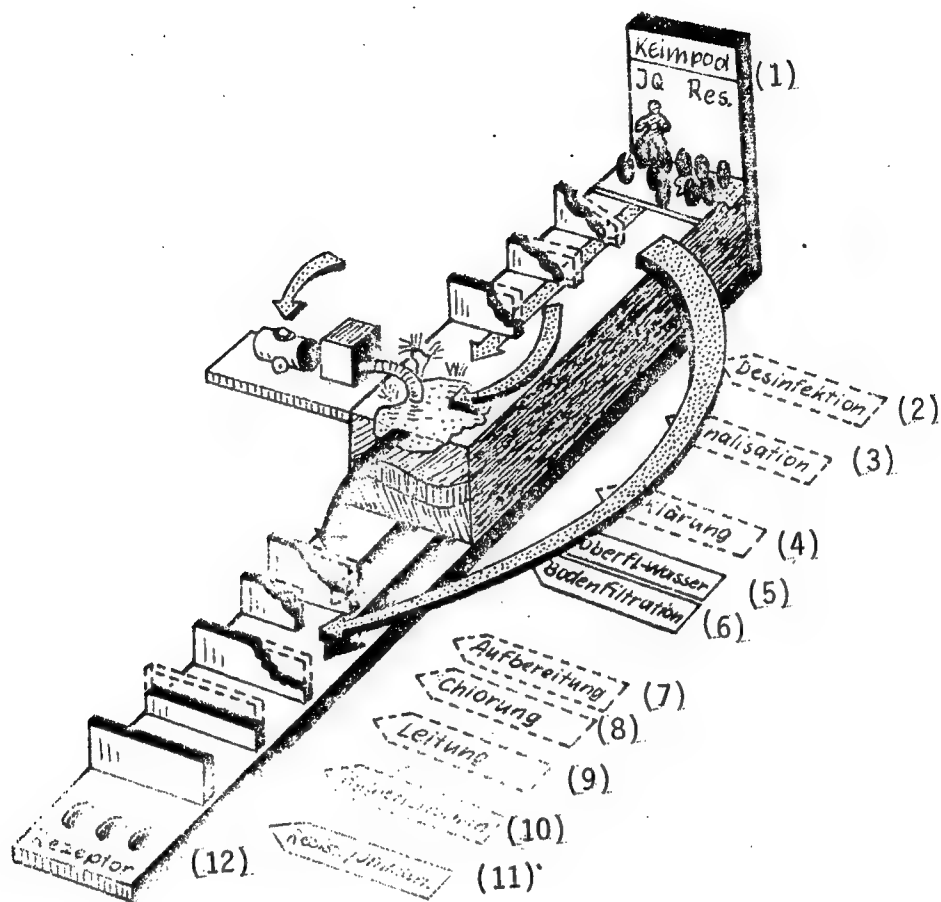


Figure 4: Diagram of the Barrier System in the Catastrophe Situation

Key:

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. Germ pool,<br>infection source,<br>reservoir | 6. Ground infiltration  |
| 2. Disinfection                                 | 7. Purification         |
| 3. Channelization                               | 8. Chlorination         |
| 4. Clarification                                | 9. Line                 |
| 5. Surface water                                | 10. Hygienic standards  |
|   | 11. Resistance/immunity |
|   | 12. Receiver            |

As a consequence of the poorer monitoring of the transmission process, exposure of the population increases severely. At the same time, certain standards of personal hygiene cannot be adhered to in their full extent, and thus further transmission possibilities exist. In parallel to this, known and unknown infection sources become active, and the excitors produced by them can reach the surface water or emergency storage systems. Because of the relatively strong migration of the affected population and because of the actual overload of medical facilities in the territory, a large part of the infection sources escapes detection and isolation.



Because of the possible displacement of biotopes and the creation of additional transmission paths for certain types of microorganisms, morbidity may become determined not only by area-specific exciter types but also by endemic exciters.

Consequently, the catastrophe situation is characterized by the following factors (Figure 1):

- A multiple defect exists, with short-to-medium-term disturbances of the infrastructure and ecosystem.
- There is increased activity on the part of uncontrolled infection sources, as well as a strong activation of the transmission process, with increased exposure of the affected population.
- Besides biotope-specific exciter types, those exciter types can also become important which are observed in the territory rarely or not at all.
- Because the infrastructure is initially unstable, the possibilities of early concentrated combating of a rising epidemic are sometimes restricted.

Just as with the accident situation, disposition is generally unchanged and represents a significant potential for the success of the combating measures.

## 2.4 The War Situation

The war situation is to be regarded as the worst catastrophe. The epidemic-promoting factors which are active during war (Figure 5) lead to profound and long-term changes of the infrastructure and of the ecosystem, and they greatly activate all elements of the epidemic process. Using as an example the effect of radiation damage on the infected macroorganism, one can make clear what consequences the use of nuclear weapons entails as regards possible epidemic developments (Figure 6). Apart from the effects of wide-area destruction of communal-hygienic facilities, whose consequence is increased exciter transmission, there will be an extreme activation of infectious sources (increased exciter reproduction and injection with shortened incubation time) as well as a high degree of disposition on the part of the population. Now one must also expect diseases due to microorganisms which could not generally cause an infection in a normally resistant individual (endogenous infections, diseases after the application of live vaccines). The barrier system which is effective in the standard situation becomes nearly ineffectual due to the massive destruction of the central drinking water supplies in wide areas. Since one tries to obtain ground water but will not always succeed, surface waters with a large germ content must be used. Because of the restricted transport capacity, it is not only the centralized water supply with its water filtration stations that becomes important but also decentralized supplies (especially of the civil population). Furthermore, the breakdown of waste water treatment systems causes an accumulation of excrements and creates additional opportunities for infection.

Figure 5: Epidemic-Promoting Factors in War

- destruction of communal hygienic facilities (e.g. drinking water purification, waste water treatment);
  - increase of infection sources;
  - increase of pollutants;
  - increase of contact rate (evacuation, movement of refugees, congestion);
  - physical and psychic strain;
  - absence and inappropriateness of nutrition;
  - chilling and wetting;
  - conventional combat damage;
  - the action of chemical warfare agents;
  - radiation stress;
  - the use of biological warfare agents.
- 

Thus, the following characteristics are typical of the war situation (Figure 1):

- Due to a multifactorial defect, the infrastructure and ecosystems are changed profoundly and over the long term.
- Besides biotope-specific pathogenic but also potential-pathogenic excitors, artificially propagated types of pathogenic microorganisms, which are atypical for the territory, can also step into the foreground and can trigger epidemics.
- The factors operative during war cause not only a strong activation of infection sources and transmission paths but especially also an increased disposition on the part of the affected population.
- Because of the restricted operability of the territorial facilities, only reduced programs for combating drinking water epidemics are generally feasible.

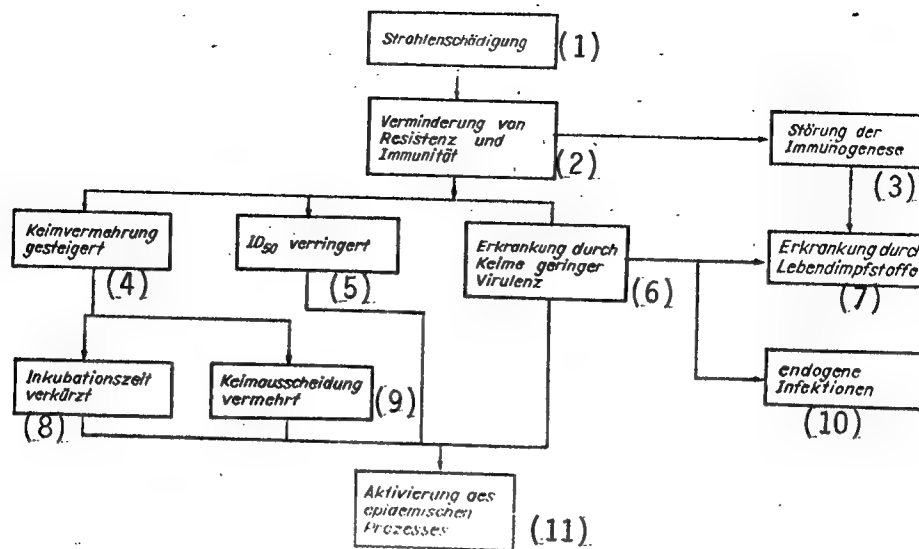


Figure 6: The Effect of Radiation Damage on the Epidemic Process  
Key:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. Radiation damage                              | 7. Diseases from live vaccines         |
| 2. Reduction of resistance and immunity          | 8. Reduced incubation time             |
| 3. Interference with immunogenesis               | 9. Germ propagation is increased       |
| 4. Increased germ production                     | 10. Endogenous infections              |
| 5. Reduced ID <sub>50</sub>                      | 11. Activation of the epidemic process |
| 6. Diseases from germs that are not too virulent |  |

### 3. Conclusions

For the accident situation, the present customary principles of detection and combating epidemics are applicable. The centralized drinking water supply via line systems will continue to be used, and thus disinfection and, more broadly, decontamination protection of this transmission factor retains its decisive anti-epidemic function. This task can be accomplished by existing agencies and facilities.

In the case of catastrophe conditions, all available forces and means of the territory must be used to replace the partly broken-down barrier system by centralized water purification. This is done through emergency reservoir systems and water filtration stations as well as by additional treatment of the final factor (e.g. boiling). Furthermore, this situation requires:

- an intensified search for and isolation of infectious sources

- the rapid reestablishment of hygienic standards under the conditions of appropriate shelter
- the administration of vaccination programs where circumstances require this
- the orientation of microbiological diagnostics to biotope-specific and foreign infectious excitors.

In war situations, only ameliorative programs can frequently be implemented. The following should be striven for:

- setting up monitored water supply depots
- the increased purification of surface water through water filtering stations
- the individual purification of drinking water by boiling, or the use of tablets to disinfect the drinking water
- procedures to reduce the disposition of the receiver population, procedures which are directed towards all elements of the epidemic process, taking especially into account the early use of pharmaceuticals or vaccines
- the expansion of the spectrum of microbiological diagnostics to artificially propagated exciter types that are atypical of the territory.

As regards microbiological studies, all three situations require that the system of microbiological random-sample diagnostics must absolutely be implemented. The time factor (3) is important here, since the chances for detecting the exciter already vanish after the peak of the epidemic has been reached.

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POLITBURO MEMBER OUTLINES POLICY ON ARTS

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Nov 84 pp 5, 6

[Excerpts from speech by Politburo member and Deputy Premier Gyorgy Aczel, delivered at the Political Academy of the MSZMP on 31 Oct 84: "With the Power of the Arts"]

[Text] We are preparing for the congress of our party, and the Central Committee will soon be considering the draft of the congress's policy guidelines that will mobilize the party, the people, and entire Hungarian society, to formulate and fulfill the tasks of the coming years. On such occasions, a party that is responsible to its people must review its activity and define the most important tasks.

This includes also the standpoint that the Cultural Policy Work Group attached to the MSZMP Central Committee has adopted on the timely tasks of policy on the arts. One may justifiably ask what has compelled us to prepare a balance of our results in implementing the principles of art policy, and to examine what new challenges have been formulated for us by the changing times and by the development of artistic life that changes together with the world.

Those who have never understood and still do not understand the essence and style of our party's policy, including its art policy, often start guessing as to whether such standpoints will mean "tightening" or "liberalization". For us this is not a real dilemma.

If "liberalization" means that we should indiscriminately provide more room for every cultural product--even for cultural products that are phoney, corrupt good taste or inspire aggression--then for us this is not a road along which we can travel. If "tightening" refers to a strong-arm policy that interferes in the process of creation and demands of artistic works that they justify current policies, or makes the publication, presentation or showing of the works contingent on such justification, then again this alternative is no less false.

Art Policy, Policy of Alliance

Our policy on the arts focuses attention primarily on providing art for the people, and not on the creative process. It does not want to "regulate" the arts and artists for the sake of its own peace of mind. Rather, with its own set of instruments, it wants to make unambiguously clear also to the artists

the objective needs of society's development, and society's requirements based on these needs. By supporting artistic values, aiding their creation and deliberately operating the distribution system, art policy wishes to promote the best possible fulfillment of society's interests and requirements that society has entrusted to its care.

On this basis--on the basis of our joint commitment to, and responsibility for, social and artistic values--we want to reestablish repeatedly also now, in the same way as we have been doing during the past 28 years, the unity of our party's policy of alliance and art-policy practice. This is why also the standpoint emphasizes: "As the ideological basis of our policy of alliance, the mutual trust established with intellectuals in the arts can and must be broadened through joint conviction regarding the humane mission of culture and the indispensable role of the arts, over and above basic agreement on general political objectives."

In our relationship with the intellectuals in the arts as well, the policy of alliance is not based on some set of one-sided requirements. The point is not that politics requires of the arts concurrence with the political objectives, and that the arts require of politics recognition of the humane mission of culture and of their own indispensable role. In other words, we are not proposing an armistice between "two warring sides." Basically the situation is entirely different. The way we see it, the "front" lies not between politics and the arts, but between those who do and those who do not understand the real role of politics and of the arts; and in this respect it is all the same whether the persons concerned are politicians or artists.

The policy of alliance makes it both possible and necessary for the party to come to an understanding, even in the most difficult times, with the prominent personalities in literature and the arts. The fact that the party has been able to do so can be attributed to its restoration of the Leninist norms, its ability to provide real answers to the questions raised by Hungarian society's development, and its respect for great artists, whom it regarded as indispensable, and for the arts themselves.

Mutual understanding has been the basis of the alliance of political partners that proved strong enough to withstand the debates with Peter Veres, Gyula Illyes, Laszlo Nemeth, Istvan Orkeny, Gyorgy Lukacs, Tibor Dery and others. Of a political alliance whose ethics includes listening to others, polishing one's own arguments on those of others, and readiness to always understand and even accept the views of others. This policy of alliance has enhanced the arts, enriched politics, and benefitted Hungarian intellectual life and also our people in the course of building socialism. No prominent writer, artist or scientist has remained outside the collective effort of recent decades that has matured into a national consensus.

In this context we often hear that now, under the changed conditions and with the departure of the "great generation," this alliance must be redefined and formed anew with others, with the representatives of today's creative intellectuals as well. The intention underlying such appeals and urgings may be good, but the image used to express it is naive, to say the least. As if we needed

a "New Testament" after an "Old Testament." As if we had to start again from square one.

Such a political alliance, however, never has been and never can be formed at any time by an act of will. It is formed through the views on essential political, educational, cultural, artistic and related social questions, in fierce debates, through and in the course of occasionally sharp conflicts and, at times, lasting differences of opinion.

When we engage in debate, we do so in the spirit of this policy of alliance and on its behalf. There is not much we can do with those--few rather than many--who distance themselves from the collective effort because of their prejudices and evidently regard playing their self-distancing roles more important than contributing meaningfully toward the solution of any debated question. All we can do is to answer them and wait patiently, perhaps the fruitful joint effort will sooner or later provide food for thought even for those who think in this manner.

### Social Role of Art

We are living in a world in which the dramatic worsening of the international situation, the ever-greater danger of armed conflict threatening to destroy mankind, the breakdown of the process of detente once hopefully regarded as continuous, and the intensification of tension between the two world systems must fill every honest person with concern.

In accordance with its true function, art has always sided with man and life. In its very essence, it has always raised its voice against manipulation, oppression, and violation of human dignity. For this very reason, art is able to play an important role even in a world fraught with the threat of war: it can intensify the sense of responsibility for peace, strengthen devotion to mankind's traditional values, give hope to the forces opposed to mankind's destruction, and thereby present in a new light in truly great works art's traditional commitment to humanism. The greater the threat to human values in the world, the more important it becomes for art's voice to ring clearly and audibly.

An alliance with art is natural for politics only under a social system whose objective interest, as well as its ideal and goal, is the existence of independently thinking, mentally and physically self-confident, and politically active citizens. And art can help to achieve this, albeit only indirectly. Not just any art, of course, but art that accepts its progressive and humane mission, is aware of its place and role in the world, and clearly sees the values and forces it has to support and the ones it has to oppose.

It is discouraging that two things are lacking almost completely in public literary debate: the world of literature and literary works, and the world about which literature and literary works ought to be speaking. But let me ask: Can art speak meaningfully and with responsibility to today's man if the realities of our age and world remain outside its field of vision? And is the indifference toward the great questions of the world, peace and human progress



worthy of our literature's traditions? Does anyone seriously believe that great works of art can be created in this manner?

Of course, how art policy interprets the social role of art is one thing, and whether art accepts and fulfills or how it interprets its own role is another thing.

A certain confusion of roles unquestionably is perceptible in our artistic life. It manifests itself first of all in a sense of being underrated. The belt-tightening measures that apply to culture as well, the worsening economic conditions in many areas, the shifting proportions in the structure of culture as a result of the declining importance and weight of the so-called autonomous arts, the gains of the mass media in culture, the increasing demand for recreation and entertainment--these are factors that jointly and severally feed the concern of some artists that our society has devalued the social role of artists and artistic institutions.

The technicist-inspired views that underestimate the role and significance of art in our age and world have contributed to the development of this sense of being underrated. As also the standpoint on art policy emphasizes, such views must be opposed the most firmly.

Overestimation of commercialism's threat to culture also plays a part in this sense of being underrated. One source of this overestimation is a kind of snobbism that frowns upon emphasizing the recipients of culture and providing a rich and varied supply for their diverse cultural demand.

But among the factors of this sense of being underrated we also find the still persisting dogmatic view that the classics can and should be forced on the public from morning till night, and that this eventually will lead to refined cultural tastes within entire society.

The view that does not regard the results achieved in improving the living standard of the masses as the basis and prerequisite for culture, and distinguishes instead between economic advancement and cultural and moral advancement, also has contributed to this confusion of roles.

On the contrary, socialist society expects art to contribute in its own particular ways toward forming a meaningful life and life-style; to provide experience, knowledge and entertainment; to aid the recognition and solution of social and personal conflicts; to spread awareness of the individual and collective alternatives and opportunities; and to help form and reinforce a new set of values, ethical norms, and patterns of private and public life and behavior.

We are faced with tasks that are putting our entire society and nation to test. On the successful solution of these tasks will depend whether in the next decade or two we will catch up with the economically and technologically most advanced countries or will we lag permanently behind them. The arts and culture also have an outstanding function in the solution of these tasks. The point in question, however, is not only the relationship between production standards and the general level of education. Aptitude, openness and exactingness honed

in the arts likewise can contribute to the development of the skills required for general renewal. This is society's vital interest.

Education and culture are a prerequisite also for the solution of our social-policy tasks, including the advancing process of democratization. Socialist democracy requires the widest possible participation of the masses in the joint shaping of history. But real democracy is not possible without people who are well informed, able to find their bearings in society and history, tolerant but also self-assured and resolute, and aware of their rights and responsibilities. With its ability to depict a variety of values, standards and lifestyles, art can establish human characteristics without which there can be no democratic behavior and mentality.

To merely record and "photograph" the confusion that the new facts and processes cause, or occasionally to even add to the confusion through one's rendering or distorted glasses, to evoke disgust by dramatizing further the already dramatic difficulties and, in straining for effect, to want only to shock the public--all this is conduct unworthy of an artist. Our people have suffered enough shocks in the storms of history. There is no need for pseudo-artistic shock effects that want to diminish, not boost, our people's vitality!

#### Culture a Commodity?

Certain symptoms of commercialization have appeared in recent years in our cultural life. Among its causes we find false reference to public demand that actually belittles the masses and attempts to satisfy public demand with cultural junk, considering it "good enough for the people."

Furthermore, we encounter also in this area the closet economist's viewpoint who sees only the proceeds; according to his logic, anything that earns money is of value, and its worth is determined by how much money it earns. We must curb the harmful phenomena encountered in implementing the policy decisions in conjunction with modernizing the system of regulation in the area of culture.

Cultural policy cannot relinquish society's cultural requirements and interests to the functioning of market mechanisms, to the random fluctuations of supply and demand. What satisfies on a high level warranted cultural needs is not necessarily economic. We cannot allow considerations of economic efficiency and proceeds, warranted in many respects, to open the gate to commercialization and to let the effective demand serve as an excuse for sloppiness and low quality. Only the maintenance of the cultural-policy considerations' primacy and a practice of consistent selection based on value can enable us to simultaneously supply public demand, meet society's needs, improve the tastes of the masses, and fulfill the requirements of cultural development.

To this end we must combat also the views that belittle the cultural development in recent years and present the real processes in a false light. None of the following supports these views: the state subsidies for culture, the indicators of book publishing and film production, the size of theater and film audiences, the number of visitors to museums and exhibitions, and the development of personal expenditures on culture, including purchases of books and records.

We unalterably profess that cultural products are not commodities under socialism, or at least not in the same sense as beach tongs or shoestrings are commodities, to borrow a "highbrow" comparison recently used among writers.

It depends on us as well as on culture how soon we will be able to cope with the towering difficulties confronting us, how fast we can proceed in solving our economic tasks and, as a function of this progress, when will we have more money than now to subsidize culture. For we do not have any arguments with anyone regarding the need for money in this area as well.

#### Demand, Entertainment

The changes in the public's preferences, the transformation of the art distribution system and the unprecedented expansion of its range are presenting new tasks for cultural policy and the cultural institutions.

The most important change in recent years has been the increased role of mass communication. Television alone has created a demand for artistic works and productions that we are unable to satisfy from the valuable domestic and foreign supply, without resorting also to cultural import that often is poor and justifiably criticized, and sometimes creates ideological problems as well.

Unfortunately, this situation is due in part also to the fact that writers, artists and scientists have not yet really discovered, or taken cognizance of, the immense opportunities that mass communication offers. They often feel it is below their dignity to improve programming with valuable and interesting works and program outlines. Instead, with the superiority of outsiders, they prefer to criticize the programs, more or less justifiably.

Primarily the specialists of radio and television could play a role in the better utilization of the opportunities. They could participate more definitely and purposefully in disseminating and propagating the values of universal and national culture, in spreading artistic and scientific information of high quality, in popularizing the related arts, in generating and developing demand, and in raising the standards of visual culture. But we must also bear in mind that most people sit down to watch television in order to be entertained, and turn on the radio to hear good music.

We must take more fully into account the mass demand for entertainment in mass communication and in other areas of our cultural life as well. We cannot look down on this natural and justifiable human demand that seeks satisfaction with elemental force. Cultural improvement and relaxation, or culture, value and entertainment are interdependent rather than mutually exclusive. A cultured person may love both Bartok and rock music at the same time, or both Tolstoy and a good detective story. Specifically his general culture can guarantee that he will not accept trash even when seeking relaxation.

We must admit with self-criticism that our cultural policy still lacks a developed concept and set of instruments for influencing entertainment. For this reason even the high-quality undertakings and efforts often fail to obtain the warranted and necessary subsidy; whereas the inferior productions that cite

but actually underestimate public demand, and strive primarily for easy business success, not only thrive freely but also offer an easier livelihood and sometimes even a career. However, even greater damage is being caused by the fact that, in the absence of supply of suitable quality, the natural demand for relaxation seeks satisfaction in an influx of Western entertainment-industry products or their domestic imitations that are inferior, inane and not even always harmless ideologically.

Light music is very important in the complex area of the performing arts. Pop music plays a noteworthy role especially in youth culture: its valuable endeavors have been able to make its demanding yet mass-experienced musical form and message the expression of a significant age group's attitude to life. However, the primitive, iconoclastic and shallow entertainment-industry products and waves of garbage, which occasionally encourage also aggressive, anti-social and anticomunity passions, pose the gravest threat specifically here, because of their mass effect.

One obstacle to the supply of quality entertainment is that a proportion of the performing artists regard abstract and nonresounding self-expression and "self-realization" more important than the mass demand for sensible relaxation, and the basic need for gaiety, relieving humor and pleasant excitement. It is not certain that also in the arts everyone should be allowed to "realize himself" in every respect. But it is certain that we must not support, with the instruments of art policy or financially, "self-realization" at the expense of the public's demand.

Certain creative artists occasionally are punishing moviegoers with audience-scaring films that at best may be regarded as the motion pictures of an intellectual subculture. In the fine arts, too, there are efforts that only want to offend, despise and disregard good taste. As they gain ground, the galleries become depopulated.

Yet, art can best educate its own public if it takes into consideration the public's capabilities, outlook, interests, taste, and its demand that can and should be developed. But if art abandons its public and moves out of the public's life, then trash, pseudoart, and worthless works made by the dozen will move in to replace it.

We do not have to look far for examples of the opposite. There are now at least a dozen outstanding sculptors of public statues, which is something unprecedented in Hungarian art history. Their works not only decorate the public squares of cities and villages, making our environment more beautiful, but also are helping to refine the tastes of wide masses. The quality and example of our public sculpture also show that the public can be served with high artistic standards, and that this is indeed the only way to serve the public!

Knowing and respecting what the public wants does not mean that we accept the level of public taste as final and unalterable. Our cultural policy builds on public demand, but in such a way that--figuratively speaking--it adds more and more stories to it: it wants not only to satisfy the public demand but to raise it as well.

## People, Nation, Responsibility

MSZMP art policy has always made it unambiguously clear that it regards as irreplaceable the role of art in shaping the lives of the people and the nation. Art has important functions in preserving and enriching national identity. On the one hand, however, self-appointed artists cannot expropriate this mission. And on the other hand, it would be a confusion of roles if an artist wanted or could address the questions of national existence only at the level of the demagogue; if he were to interpret his "nation-saving" role to mean that he has only to fulminate in a frightening and doom-predicting voice against the nation and its government. Perhaps the artist should not question or deny that the nation and the people, too, have their tasks in this respect, or the sense of responsibility of the nation and its government for ensuring that art is able to fulfill its own tasks in preserving and developing national identity and national values.

The traditional national "sense of mission" and role of the arts, and among them of literature in particular, are not a matter of self-displaying and self-appointing decision even in our time. They are not an eternal right and preordained "savior" role, but historical service and opportunity. This opportunity can be utilized or lost, through each individual artist's actual achievement and his sense of responsibility or lack of it.

This applies to the debates as well that flare up from time to time on so-called national questions of vital importance. I merely want to remind you that most often the situation of the Hungarians living beyond our borders, the population problems, suicides, and alcoholism are included among such questions. To this list I would add the tasks of our economic survival and further progress, and the problems of transforming the production structure and reforming education; their solution is a prerequisite also for our national survival and advancement. But regardless of how we define the scope of "national questions of vital importance," one thing is certain: the arts may have even today an important role in raising these issues and in helping to answer them.

The question here, then, is not one of competence, but of the mode of approach. The words of the artists and writers would hardly gain any credence if, for example, public opinion were to find that some groups of intellectuals in the arts were shrouding suicide and self-destruction in a virtual blaze of moral glory, and were fabricating theories that "compelling circumstances" were driving real personalities to suicide or drink.

But the artist, specifically through his art and his being an artist, can indeed do much to solve the national questions of vital interest. The creative artist's most effective mouthpiece is his creation, and he finds his true role when his work speaks for him. Through its own peculiar instruments, art is able to mobilize the forces that have a positive attitude to life. With the set of values suggested in his works, the artist is able to vote for a meaningful life and for the justification of the faith in the children, family, community and future.

Attempts to expropriate competence on national issues, and the related confusion of roles are concomitants of the nationalism that often manifests itself in the arts as well.

This is a nationalism that condemns the nation for its "failure to be national," for subordinating national issues to a "full-stomach policy." Beyond our borders, meanwhile, friend and foe alike agree that our policies during the past 28 years have served our nation's advancement successfully and in a socialist manner!

We cannot agree with those who fear for the nation's destiny and future, because of an "economy-centered" policy that allegedly "disregards" the nation's moral development. We cannot agree at all with counterposing in this manner the economy and culture, and the economy and morals. And we do not believe in the nation's economic and moral advancement not based firmly on an economic foundation. We know very well that we must concern ourselves also with the state of society's morals; a healthy economy is a prerequisite for, but does not necessarily ensure, sound public morals.

Without disputing art's competence on national issues, we must reject nationalistic passions and prejudices that question or dispute, in conjunction with the national questions of vital interest, our policies' national character, national responsibility or sense of such responsibility. Let no one expropriate competence in national affairs.

Dwelling on the question of country, nation and nationalism, one of our newspapers warned recently that we must take care to avoid too much patriotism because it could easily switch over into nationalism. Patriotism and nationalism are two different things. There can never be enough of patriotism, and even a little of nationalism is too much!

Nationalism is nothing other than a distorted, wrong and momentarily perhaps popular answer to the questions of country, nation and national issues; such an answer will sooner or later act against the nation's real interests. This is true in Hungary and in any other country as well, regardless of the reason for recourse to nationalism.

Our party has traveled a long road. It fought for the real interests of the Hungarian people and Hungary already when it was a section of the Communist International. The communist parties suffered the most casualties in the anti-fascist struggle of the peoples. Let us recall the Soviet people and the CPSU. The French CP fought for the freedom and independence of the French people; the Italian CP, for the freedom and independence of the Italian people. The Hungarian Communists did the same thing, from the party's birth until the formation of the CP in Hungary, of the Hungarian CP. And they have been acting in the same way ever since the party came to power and became the entire nation's party.

Under the present conditions, our party must assume all the real problems and concerns of the nation and their solution, be they unfavorable demographic trends, suicides, alcoholism, or the complicated and difficult problems of the nationality question. It is the party's duty to treat the multitude of these

problems in their unity, and to answer the challenges of history. The party acts in a principled manner, in alliance with everyone, even with those who are concerned with merely a few or only one of the nation's problems, provided that they too are striving to develop the alliance on the basis of mutual respect.

Our sense of national responsibility obligates us to preserve undiminished and to enrich the spirit of internationalism. Anyone who fights the nationalism of others with nationalism of his own will fall into history's trap. We condemn the falsification of history and cannot respond to falsifications by others with falsifications of our own. Falling in this trap leads to tragedy, and it would also be unworthy of our socialist national awareness. In conjunction with a similar problem, Lenin said: "We are imbued with a sense of national pride, and specifically for this reason we hate our past in bondage." These words should be a warning for us even today.

#### For a Socialist Outlook

After the counterrevolution, the party abandoned the narrow-minded cultural policy that expected of art the justification of current politics. We are convinced that the creative artist who accepts the humane mission of art serves with his works also the ideals and final objectives of socialism. The policy standpoint reflects the party's intention not to overpoliticize art and to make it, in a sectarian manner, directly a question of daily politics. We will leave this to certain individuals in our artistic life who are writing pamphlets instead of works. We do not wish to appoint writers on the basis of their "morality," not even ones who prefer to "conduct themselves," instead of working creatively.

For our art policy, the work itself remains the basis of evaluation, and not the person of the artist--no matter how prominently presented--or his conduct outside his work. We do not want to change this basic principle, not even in the present tense international situation that compels much sharper ideological struggle than previously, although we are aware that the more difficult external conditions, and the propaganda war that has unfolded against socialism on an international scale, are hampering to no small extent the assertion of the art-policy principles that we have achieved through struggle.

All this does not mean that we have abandoned the ideal of committed, party-minded, political art, or that we regard as "more convenient" and "less harmful" from the viewpoint of policy a certain turning inward that can be observed in a proportion of the artists, an indifference to social problems, apolitical behavior, and the revival of "art for art's sake."

The history of Hungarian literature and Hungarian art history both prove that good literature and good art have always engaged in politics. And committed socialist art has done and is doing so even more deliberately and responsibly, throwing in its lot with the working-class movement and progressive forces.

Moreover, we do not think that just the work itself can and does engage in politics; the artist himself can do likewise. And we want him to assume



a role in public life and in politics. As a citizen and a person particularly sensitive to public affairs by virtue of his profession, he can and should use the various forums in public life to voice his opinion and engage in politics. With a sense of responsibility! For the rules of political responsibility apply to the artist appearing in the political arena.

But reverting to the artistic work, art's responsibility to depict realistically the path leading to the present is indisputable. Affirmation of the socialist set of values and perspectives is not retroactive and does not demand the assumption of an unbroken idyllic development, or complete and unqualified identification with the conditions of discredited periods. Let us admit, examples of this would be hard to find in our artistic life anyhow; we rarely encounter the assumption of such "idyllic" continuity in conjunction with socialist development. But there does occur a different and less savory assumption of continuity: when a work suggests that the distortions of the 1950's are still present in our political practice, and that no real and sincerely intended change has taken place.

Even more frequent is the complete negation of continuity: the reorchestration in this sense of the problem of the 1950's that is in vogue. As if the politically harmful and false category of "guilty people" were now returning into a different intellectual environment, the category of "guilty period" is likewise too general in its condemnation and in branding indiscriminately the characters of that period. According to some accounts of that period, only the unscrupulous hirelings of those in power, and cowardly opportunists populated Hungary in the 1950's, which simply makes our country a collection of stereotypes and examples of dehumanization. Perhaps art history will one day say that stereotypes shortchanged Hungarian art twice: once in the early 1950's, and again in depicting the 1950's.

The problem in all this is not the spotlight on the 1950's. It is only natural that a nation confronts also in its art the tragedies of its past, especially of its recent history. However, not only the stereotypes but also their exact opposite, the falsifications of history, make it impossible to truly analyze the period, explore it artistically or even criticize it. The distortion is particularly striking when some of the creative artists view the Horthy regime with far more understanding than the "cursed" 1950's. We do not deny that also during the counterrevolutionary period there were forces with which we can and do profess continuity. But these forces fought specifically against the oppressive system and its conservatism. It is a mockery of our solidarity with these forces when some works of art or of memoir literature suggest that the entire period should be equated with these forces.

#### For Good Workshops

We do not wish to interfere in questions of style or in debates on taste. However, we will continue to encourage the organization of workshops in the spirit of Marxism's hegemony, and under our conditions we will not support institutionalized separation according to ideological directions. This would lead only to the downgrading assertion of factional considerations.



We cannot leave even in culture the selection of value entirely to spontaneous processes, because these do not necessarily ensure the assertion of community interests. If the independence of the workshops were absolute, the recipients of culture would be unable to express their preferences. Their demand is included in commissions from society, which also the socialist state transmits. The heads of the workshops are the principal addressees of these commissions.

There is no real management in some of these workshops. Occasionally even an elementary system of operation is lacking, and mandatory state discipline is not observed, jeopardizing creative work as well. Some of the newspapers have practically been converted into personal columns and are being published as if editors did not exist at all. There are authors whose every word is being assigned to press, without any selection or criticism. This is not helpful to either the public or the authors in question. And then there are young or even not-so-young film directors who have hardly had time to recover from their previous flop, obvious to the film industry and the general public as well, and already are able to direct their next film.

The most striking are the cases in which the fundamental interests of the people and nation are rudely violated, and yet there is no editor or workshop manager to call a halt to such violations.

Everyone in this country fears for and protects the social consensus that has been achieved through the sufferings and hard work of decades. We cannot let "minutemen" jeopardize what is the most important: the social consensus, the country's fundamental international interests, and the values that our socialist society has struggled for. It is unthinkable that we provide without hesitation a public for such ogling that is aimed far beyond our borders.

Most decisive action must be taken against such irresponsibility. A condition of freedom is that we know how to use it and not tolerate its abuse!

In conclusion, allow me to recall a comparison by Gyula Illyes from the late 1960's, one that is very meaningful even today: We are working and living sheltered from the wind. Storms are raging in the world, and we are coping with difficult tasks at home. Nobody can claim that our country is outside the danger zone. In spite of all the difficulties, however, we are preserving and defending the historical calm that is both the framework for, and the basis of, dynamic action to overcome the stresses. It is the noble duty of every creative artist, disseminator of culture, and cultural public figure to serve this historical opportunity of our development and the efforts of our people.

There are always alternatives in history. So long as the destinies of people depend on our action, it can never be indifferent which alternative we choose. If we do not regard our ideology as the doctrine of our salvation, the thinking and acting person's decision-making responsibility will be the greater. More so the responsibility of officials concerned with education and culture, because they know that man's enrichment is both a means and an end of our socialist society. Man's life will be neither longer nor easier if he becomes more conscious, far-sighted and cultured. But his life will be more meaningful, "more condensed" and richer!

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TRAINING, EDUCATION OF MILITARY VIEWED

Veszprem NAPLO in Hungarian 22 Sep 84 p 10

[Article by E.Gy.: "Military Colleges, Secondary Defense Schools, Specialized Secondary Schools"]

[Text] Among the articles of our Constitution the one which refers to the defense of our country belongs to the best known. It reads: "The defense of the country is the duty of all citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic." We understand well the meaning of this sentence and consider it self-explanatory. This is what all the activities of our socialist armed forces and in particular that of the Hungarian People's Army are about. We know that at present an increasingly modern army protects our peace and stands prepared to defend our country. This fact is particularly important in view of the fast technical development of our era. The concept of a well prepared, modern army does not include, of course, weaponry alone but also soldiers well trained in modern technology and knowledgeable in the handling of that weaponry. This is provided by the continuous training of young people during their regular military service. And we should add to this that the correlation of man and technology, the high level of discipline and preparedness of the soldiers are guaranteed by the educational work of the professional officers and non-commissioned officers of the armed forces.

For All Areas of Life

The role of the professional soldiers is increasingly important nowadays. They use their professional training--which meets the requirements of our era--in their daily concern for the defense of the country, and they help with their knowledge the new generations of our country get the mastery of the military profession. The professional cadres of our armed forces are making a significant contribution to the implementation of the spirit and letter of the Constitution, and strengthen our citizens' readiness to defend our country. Thus the commanders of the armed forces also consider the continuous renewal and modernization of the training and preparation of the professional cadres so important. This is what is going on also at present. About the status and problems of replacement of the officers and non-commissioned officers of the people's army Major General Egon Szabo spoke to the readers of NAPLO.

The traditional military college system is widely known in our country. Young people who are interested in a military career may be admitted after graduation from high school and a successful entrance examination into one of the various military academies. At the Mate Zalka Military Technical College engineers are being trained in specific military crafts, and the students can acquire a general civilian engineering diploma. The Gyorgy Kilian Aviation Technical College is an air force training center. In addition to pilots and other air force personnel, also motor, turbo-engine, glider-technology and other engineers are being trained in it. At the Lajos Kossuth Military Academy the commanding officers of the various branches of military service are being trained, and students can also obtain engineering diplomas here. The most gifted of them may be admitted to foreign military colleges--in the Soviet Union, Poland and recently in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic--for specific studies. The Frigyes Karikas Military Boarding School provides home for defense scholarship holders, who are studying at various civilian institutions of higher education. To these universities and colleges are admitted all those who feel a calling for military, medical, legal, economic, computer-technical and other professions. Those who apply for admission--if they pass the entrance examination, i.e. they reach the prescribed score--become students and are admitted to the mentioned boarding school. These students are beneficiaries of stipends in various amounts depending on their scholastic qualifications, and from their senior year at the college or university they continue their studies with the rank of an ensign or ensign of first class.

There are also other ways to enter military colleges. Those working youths who plan to join the army, may apply for admission to the preparatory courses for military colleges. These courses are designed for those young people who had already acquired experience as skilled workers and had also trained themselves individually. During the preparatory period for the college they receive a specific financial support, which of course is less than the salary obtainable in well-paying trades, but it helps them rub through the period of studies. After the successful graduation from such a preparatory school, people will become students of a military college.

#### Military Boarding Schools for "Civilian" Students

The secondary boarding schools were created a few years ago under the direction and auspices of the Ministry of Defense. Yet their characteristics and tasks are still little known by the public at large. Those youths who graduate from the elementary school with an average score of at least 4, may apply for admission to these boarding schools by marking on their career choice sheet that they want to enter into a secondary defense boarding school. At present there are such schools at Eger, Nyiregyhaza, Gyor, Tata, Szeged and Balassagyarmat. From 1985 there will be one more at Zalaegerszeg. These are the localities at which applications for admission to such schools can be presented. In the years to come further secondary defense boarding schools will be created.

In practice this means that the youths admitted are studying in and graduate from a high school or specialized school of one of the towns mentioned above, while the army cares for their billeting in the boarding school. Life in

these institutions is colorful and offers high quality community spirit to the students. Boarders in these schools are of course wearing civilian clothes, just like their civilian counterparts. They differ from their school mates only in the way they are living in the hostel. In addition to full board, regular coaching is provided for them by competent teachers, they go to camps during summer, and have a uniform for festive occasions. Nevertheless it must be emphasized that this is not a military community, but an organized preparation of those who aspire to become professional military officers. In part of their leisure time they participate in KISZ (Communist Youth Federation) activities, pursue sports and watch films.

High school students who are living in such defense boarding schools, may choose after graduation among the existing military colleges of higher education the most convenient one in order to obtain the necessary qualifications for military career. Experience shows that 90 percent of the graduates continue their studies in military colleges. To what extent these defense boarding schools conform with the regular national educational system is shown by the composition of their staff. The principal and his deputies are professional military officers and educators, but the great majority of the coaches are civilians. The latter and the persons responsible for cultural and sport events are selected from the pedagogues of the town, and are invited and hired in each case individually.

#### High-Level Professional Training

Who are expected to enter into the military boarding schools? In the first place those graduates from elementary schools--able sons of manual workers--who are interested in military careers. Family tradition may play a determining role in some cases, i.e. eligible are those whose parents are professional soldiers, policemen or members of the armed forces. The defense hostels provide also excellent accommodations and learning possibilities for youths who are living in small settlements, far from the urban centers. The educators in the elementary schools are of course supposed to be helpful in providing information in this respect.

The exigences concerning the formation of non-commissioned officers of the People's Army have also become stricter. This stems from the fact that nowadays not even a non-commissioned officer is able to comply with his tasks without secondary and specialized schooling. This is why the system of the formation of non-commissioned officers has been modified, and high schools have been established for the training of non-commissioned officers, and more such schools will be organized in the years to come. Schools of this type are functioning already at Szabadszallas, in the vehicle technology branch, at Tapioszecso for musicians, and in Budapest for food-provision specialists. Currently the schools training non-commissioned officers of the various services are still functioning according to the old pattern, but beginning 1985 they will be uniformly converted into specialized high schools, and their graduates will uniformly receive high school diplomas. In the process of this development a new high school specializing in airplane mechanics will start functioning at Szolnok in 1985.

The promotion of the apprentice non-commissioned officers is provided by the fact that brilliant students of the specialized high schools are acquiring the right to be admitted to the military colleges. The others may, while doing their job, be admitted to officer's tests and be promoted to the rank of an officer.

The graduates of the specialized high schools may become well trained specialists, widely knowledgeable in modern technology.

The army is an organic part of our society and therefore it is important that it is a community of educated people, who are always ready to defend the country. This goal is pursued by the conscientious and high quality defense training of our young people.

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CSO: 2500/65

ASSISTANT MINISTER OF DEFENSE DESCRIBES SITUATION OF MILITARY

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Sep 84 p 5

[Interview with Major General Ferenc Karpati, Assistant Minister of Defense, by Laszlo Szabo: "The Soldier's Performance of His Duties and His Living Conditions"]

[Text] Today we honor our armed forces--the soldiers defending the territory of the country, the guards of our state borders, the police enforcing the laws and standing watch over public order, and the workers' guards taking up arms after their day's work to defend the people's power. Let us greet them.

We have taken this occasion to talk about those youths who are called into the ranks of our people's army for 18 months by the obligation to defend our country. We prepared an interview about the everyday life of our young soldier with Major General Ferenc Karpati, assistant minister of defense and chief of the main political department of the Hungarian People's Army.

[Question] There is a lot of trouble with some 18-20 year olds before they become soldiers. When they are discharged it is as if they had been transformed. A year and a half is not a short time in the life of a youth. Soldiers especially feel that the days pass slowly. But in reality 18 months seems very little in which to form favorable changes in the attitudes of someone 18-20 years old and have his ideas conform to the social standards. What is your opinion about this?

[Answer] The 18-month service time seems to be a lot to those inducted today, but a few years ago--as is well known--it was still 24 months. The officers are getting 6 months less time to train and educate the soldiers today.

According to our experiences this time is sufficient to solve the most important tasks. Of course, it would be an exaggeration to say that within this period we can achieve what we would like, what would be socially necessary, in the thinking or attitudes of every youth. There are those among them on whom our educational work has little effect. But in the case of the overwhelming majority of them we really do find very serious, positive changes even in this relatively short time. How can this be explained?

The stressed task in the army, and we devote the appropriate time and energy to this, is to deepen and make conscious in our young people, based on their earlier information, the necessity of defending our homeland and peace. In the course of this we try to inform them about and get them to understand a number of important socio-political questions. In an understandable way military service prompts these young people to be able to orient themselves better among the complex questions of international life too. The majority of them show an understandable interest at those sessions dealing with this. I can say also that during the time of military services many young people become regular newspaper readers, and on the basis of their information they speak their opinion in socio-political questions more courageously. We have very good opportunities for strengthening a feeling of responsibility for public affairs among young people, who are by now adults, arousing in them an interest in social questions. In this we can build well on those who participated in the youth movement or in other areas of social work with the proper knowledge and activity prior to induction too.

Within a very short time--following basic training--the majority of our soldiers go into responsible assignments; we entrust them with very valuable, complicated weaponry and military technology. Some are worth tens of millions all by themselves! In the course of using these tools it is of outstanding significance that every single soldier carry out his task precisely, knowledgeably and reliably, because only in this way can the desired efficiency be attained. In a word, this suggests that depending on one another has greater significance than before, a sort of intimate, comradely spirit which binds the small soldier communities--the members of the squads and platoons--into friends in the strict sense of the word.

The military discipline, the order and organization, have a profound effect on the young people too. This is not a goal in itself in the army either. On the contrary, this is one of the most important conditions for all military activity. Modern warfare requires coordinated activity, from the smallest military organization to organizations embracing many thousands of people, weapons and items of military technology, which might be compared to the finest clockwork. And a high level of discipline is needed to ensure that no dust gets into this mechanism and stops it. It is not easy to produce this, for our young people are the least prepared for it; so conflicts arise in this regard also.

"We Guarantee the Medical Care"

[Question] Every parent worries, some more some less, when their son becomes a soldier. They are afraid the child will not tolerate the harder conditions, they are afraid he will have an accident or prove weak. Do you get letters like this from parents? And if so, how do you answer them?

[Answer] I am a father myself, I have children too; indeed, both my sons have done military service. So I understand the anxieties of the parents, which naturally manifest themselves not only in the course of military service, but in general they appear with greater intensity at such a time. I get many letters from parents and relatives, and a good many of them contain

justified requests. For example, I regard it as such when the family circumstances justify having the boys assigned to a nearby garrison, so they can get home more often and be of assistance. There are also cases where they are anxious for their sons because a weak physique or their earlier sicknesses cause greater fears for them. This is understandable too, because there is no doubt that the physical and psychological demands in the army are not insignificant; this is known to most people in general. But I would like to say that while an army really is a dangerous business we guarantee the medical care in every unit, guarantee the protection of the soldiers' health.

I consider it natural that in the course of taking up the justified requests we take the wishes into consideration and satisfy them insofar as possible. But there are also requests which are unjustified, which come from extreme, exaggerated anxiety.

"Who Is Considered To Be a Good Chap"

[Question] An acceptable ideal is very important for a young person. Can the army present the young soldiers with ideals, at least those which the boys call "good chaps", who can be followed through thick and thin?

[Answer] This touches on one of the most important questions of education, for it is a natural property of man to mix in his own personality the properties of many other colleagues; indeed, it is not infrequently formulated thus: "I want to be like him." It is especially characteristic of young people that they seek ideal examples for themselves. It begins in school, when they select from among the teachers an example to be followed; others find their models among outstanding sports figures.

On what basis do they select for themselves an example to be followed? It is really worth paying some attention to this. Perhaps the first and most important condition is that the person involved has an outstanding understanding of his specialty, of what he is doing. This is especially true in the case of soldiers because here nothing less is involved than whether they can trust their commander under battle conditions, whether he will find the best solution in every situation. In the course of maneuvers and live firing exercises one can see who the soldiers really look up to, who is considered to be a "good chap." You may have experienced this too, most recently at the Shield '84 exercise, or the year before last at a range in the Soviet Union, where our soldiers fired with live rockets, and you saw, and I saw, how much confidence the soldiers there had in their officers, their commanders. In addition, it is also important that as military leaders they be determined and consistent. An officer or noncom who shilly-shallies gets no real respect, who is easily--as I put it--nailed, neither does the one who does not take proper care of his subordinates, who does not look after them properly. But those are honored, respected and followed anywhere who not only know what they want but also know how to achieve the goal, who not only give orders but take care of those they lead. In solving tasks they do not spare their strength but march at the front and act together with their subordinates.



The soldiers identify them as people to be followed, examples to be followed. This is shown by the many thousands of letters which the soldiers write to their immediate commanders after their discharge, thanking them for everything they did for them and for everything they learned from them.

[Question] It has been said that now line soldiers do political work even in the companies, that they serve as political deputies to the commander. Did necessity give birth to this situation or was it done deliberately?

[Answer] We recently introduced this system deliberately. In subunits of company size the young men performing line soldier service receive the task of doing political work. Their designation indicates this; they are "company's political stewards." We select them from among the young men being inducted and after basic training they take a reserve officer training course, after that they are assigned to the subunits. After completion of their line soldier service--if they are suitable for it--they will be reserve political workers of the army. The great majority of them are party members or activists of the youth movement experienced in political work. More than 70 percent of the young people trained thus far have graduated from university or college.

Our experiences over 2 years prove the correctness and justification of this decision. The political education of the line soldiers is regarded as their first task and they organize and direct the free time, cultural, sports and other similar activities of the subunits with great independence and inspiration. They live there in the immediate proximity among their fellow soldiers, they know their good and bad qualities, their pleasures, and they know if they need help in something. Their fellow soldiers listen to them. They have their respect. Their commanders have high esteem for their work, because they put many burdens on their shoulders, and so have more time for many other tasks amidst the many things to do. They have an ever increasing role in influencing the moral and political character, military order and discipline of the subunits.

[Question] Is a record kept anywhere of how many calories a soldier gets every day, and what should be provided?

[Answer] In addition to the spiritual conditions of the soldiers we always put great emphasis on their physical condition too, which also depends on proper nourishment. In determining the needs we take into consideration the weather and other requirements of the season and so we provide about 16,380-17,220 joules (3,900-4,100 calories) per day to our soldiers. This corresponds to the average energy needs of those doing hard physical work. Soldiers are like everyone in this respect. They like things which are prepared properly. So much depends on the science of the cooks.

[Question] But food prices are going up....

[Answer] True, but we cover from the central budget the differences deriving from state price changes. Good supply is aided by the flexible management of the units, by a circumspect search for acquisition sources and by the work of the auxiliary farms which operate in a large number of units too.

## "We Are Gradually Changing the Dress of Our Soldiers"

[Question] Some of the line soldiers can be seen in a new cut of clothes. What justified the change?

[Answer] The previous dress uniform of the soldiers that everyone is used to was introduced about 15 years ago taking into consideration the dress needs and industrial possibilities of the time. Dress needs have changed substantially since then. The public opinion research which preceded development of the new dress proved that the majority of the young people would prefer a battle jacket type top rather than a blouse. At the same time, as a result of the development which has taken place in the textile industry in the past decade some articles of the dress uniform--as, for example, the nylon shirt--are outmoded, their production has become uneconomical.

When we analysed the possibilities and it became obvious that we could provide the new dress uniform at the same cost level as the former one, but in a more fashionable, pleasing and youthful form, the question was decided.

Primarily because of economic considerations we are changing the dress of our soldiers gradually, as the old clothes are used up. We feel--and our first experiences justify this--that in the case of the new dress uniform the thinking of the leadership of the people's army has coincided with the needs of the soldiers.

[Question] If a 20-year old boy really likes, let us say, modern music, sports or computers, what possibility does he have in the army to satisfy his desires in this direction?

[Answer] Young people serving in the army can indulge their favorite pastimes on a broad scale in their free time. The 688 youth clubs, 912 hobby clubs, 593 amateur art groups and nearly 50 band groups offer an opportunity for this. Neither rock nor new wave music are forbidden in the army. We keep in mind only one requirement--the music, instruments and lyrics should cultivate and bring to the surface real, profound human feelings.

I would like to talk especially of the hobby clubs. Few know, and so I will say, that in addition to many others we have language clubs to keep up and develop a knowledge of Russian, English and German, primarily, it is true, where our university pre-admission soldiers are serving. This year we are starting computer technology clubs also. Thirty small computers and appropriate programs will help interested young people become acquainted with the features of these clever machines in a club form, using them, effectively interacting with them.

[Question] And sports?

[Answer] Yes, yes. Qualified competitors can find opportunities for competition as members of the Honved [Home Defense] teams, and so their development will not suffer during their service time. For young people

interested in amateur sports there is a sports field in every barracks and a sport yard in many places, including a gymnasium. Organized physical education, encouraging sports, is very important in the army, for keeping up the physical strength is a fundamental defense interest. Our biggest problem here is that because of the heavy schedule there is frequently less time for this than we would like to provide.

[Question] Not long ago the government also discussed the experiences with the new system of training for line soldiers with pre-admission to university or college. According to the communique made public there was also a discussion of the deficiencies. What are they, and how does the leadership of the army intend to eliminate them?

[Answer] The "pre-admitted" serve 12 months before beginning their studies and another 6 months after completing them. They are trained in units supplied with modern technology, for concrete military assignments, in which we take into consideration their preparedness, theoretical knowledge, professional orientation, etc. Their induction and discharge, rights and obligations and service and living conditions coincide with those of the other line soldiers.

What is new in their training is that we do not bring them into segregated units as earlier, in which almost exclusively those with university pre-admission served, rather their training takes place together with the other line soldiers. In this way we can substantially increase the ratio of young people with higher training in units provided with modern technical devices. Ending the segregation, the uniform line soldier service time and the identity of conditions has had a good effect in every stratum of young people. The service together with other young people has influenced advantageously the community spirit of the pre-admitted, the development of their personalities, an increase in their physical conditions and the development of their technical and practical preparedness and aptitudes.

The experiences also prove that this system has proven itself and that it can serve effectively over the longer run also a fulfillment of the requirements of high level battle readiness and training-educational work.

At the same time the past years have shown also that a few phenomena have had an unfavorable effect on these young people. Such, among other things, was the fact that they were sent to relatively many units, very "higgledy-piggledy," so the possibility of organized consultations or maintaining contact with the universities or colleges became difficult. It also happened that they were given assignments which did not suit their abilities. Some of our units did not prepare properly to deal with them. These problems are now known and the leadership of the army has taken action to eliminate them.

We are reducing the number of units at which the pre-admitteds will serve; and young people admitted to foreign universities will be inducted into one garrison. The Ministry of Defense will inform the affected institutions of higher learning about these garrisons and make it possible to maintain

maintain contact; and--in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture-- consultations will be held at least every two months for those studying foreign languages. The unit and garrison libraries will be supplied with the proper technical books, notes and other basic literature.

[Question] It is frequently said that our army is a modern army. In what respect is it modern? In regard to our weapons or the attitudes of the soldiers?

[Answer] The modernness of an army depends on many factors. I would put in first place and before all else the socialist attitude. Socialist human relationships and socialist legality rule in this army. Its existence and activity have become organically intertwined with the goals of our socialist society, service to progress and guaranteeing the peace. This guides every step of our professional and line soldier complements in fulfilling both their national and international obligations. All this determines the morale of our army, which gives a strength and deportment which cannot be replaced with anything else. Many, many historical examples prove what an advantage this represents for an army.

Our army is modern also because its military technology and organization and the training of its personnel meet the requirements of the age, and our military science principles are in the forefront also. Changing and perfecting the weaponry, the military technology, have accelerated incredibly in recent decades. One cannot, one must not lag behind in this respect either, and we get everything necessary for this. Our people's army--and we can say this with assurance--is at the level of the other fraternal armies in the Warsaw Pact.

"The Political Commitment and Comradely Loyalty of Our People's Army Is Strengthening"

[Question] What are the leaders of our army planning so that our army should be more battle worthy and so that the young people being inducted should be more ready to accept that the military time is for them not only a noble, heavy obligation but also offers something to their human development which will have a favorable effect on their entire lives?

[Answer] Our people's army lives, works and develops according to the defense policy of our party. Its tasks follow from the decision of our party and the determination of our people that we must do everything to preserve the basis for peace in our day--the strategic balance of forces which has developed historically. In the service of this we will continue to strive to see that the political-ideological unity, discipline, political commitment and comradely loyalty of the personnel of our people's army should be maintained and strengthened. In harmony with our economic possibilities we will continue to supply our people's army with the most modern, new military technology tools. A further development and improvement of the service, living and working conditions of the personnel receives an appropriate place and attention in our plans also. In any case, we are striving to keep up in this regard also with the development taking place in society as a whole.

So we want to continue in a consistent way the development of our army in every respect, never forgetting that people must be put in the center of attention and thinking. Our professional personnel understand this important obligation and together with the movement organs they are striving to see that in the course of their military training our young people should advance significantly in knowledge and character and undertake an active, creative role in building and defending our socialist homeland after their discharge.

[Laszlo Szabo] Thank you for the interview.

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## FINANCES, LIVING CONDITIONS OF YOUNG PROFESSIONALS INVESTIGATED

Budapest MUNKAUGYI SZEMLE in Hungarian Aug 84 pp 15-21

[Article by Drs Istvan Harcsa and Ferenc Kesedi: "Some Characteristics of the Financial Situation and Living Conditions of Young Professionals"]

[Text] For a number of reasons that we will not discuss in detail on this occasion, attention in recent years has focused on the social situation of young professionals. One of the main conclusions of the debates on this question was that very little fresh statistical material was available on the financial situation and living conditions of young professionals as compared with other social strata. To supply the need for such information, in October and November 1982 the Central Statistical Office conducted a sample survey of nearly 10,000 graduates of higher educational institutions<sup>1</sup> who were full-time employees and 29 years old or younger.<sup>2</sup> In this study we will present the survey's most important findings regarding the young professionals' earnings and housing situation. According to the statistical data, in 1980 the number of young professionals (between the ages of 21 and 29) gainfully employed was close to 110,000, about 9 percent of all persons gainfully employed in this age bracket.

#### Earnings

1. The investigated stratum's monthly earnings averaged 4,404 forints in 1982. This was about 5 percent lower than the average monthly earnings of white-collar workers in the national economy (4,641 forints), and approximately 18 percent lower than the average monthly earnings of blue-collar workers (5,363 forints). In comparison with skilled workers of the same age, the average earnings of young professionals are relatively low, and their income situation has worsened considerably during the past decade. In the 20 to 24 age group, the average monthly earnings of young professionals in 1972 were about 96 percent of the average for skilled workers, but ten years later this proportion has dropped to approximately 80 to 85 percent. In the 25 to 29 age group, young professionals were earning on average nearly 7 percent more than skilled workers in the early 1970's, but in 1982 they have been lagging about 4 to 8 percent behind the skilled workers. Another indication of the young professionals' worsening financial situation is that their first pay after graduation --expressed in percent of the average monthly earnings of blue-collar workers in the year of graduation--was 83 percent in 1974, but only 71 percent in the year of the sample survey.<sup>3</sup>

2. Our data showed that the field of study itself influenced significantly the earnings of young professionals only in the field of education. In other fields, the earnings of young professionals did not differ significantly from one another (see Table 1).

Table 1. Average Monthly Earnings of Young Professionals by Sex and Fields of Study (Forints per Person)

<u>Fields</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Jointly</u>
Engineering	4,935	4,301	4,792
Agriculture	5,094	4,387	4,896
Economics	5,398	4,595	4,836
Health Care	5,151	4,555	4,759
Education	3,941	3,622	3,673
Law	4,933	4,490	4,643
<u>Other</u>	<u>4,806</u>	<u>4,296</u>	<u>4,510</u>
All fields	4,877	4,010	4,404

In every field of study, the average monthly earnings of the men were higher by 300 to 700 than those of the women. The more favorable income situation of the men among the young professionals can be attributed to several reasons. The most important of these reasons are the following: a large proportion of the men are assigned to positions of director or chief, especially in districts where there are shortages of professionals; and the women stop working for a time because of family obligations.

We obtain a more nuanced picture if we rearrange into income categories our data on earning by fields of study. Fifty percent of the young intellectuals who studied engineering, economics, health care or law are earning over 4,500 forints per month, while the median income of those who studied agriculture is 4,800 forints.<sup>4</sup> Our data contradict the view, often heard these days, that young engineers (and technical intellectuals in general) are earning much less than other professionals of the same age. Outstandingly low is the economic appreciation of teachers--their average monthly earnings are about 1000 forints lower than those of young professionals in other fields--and the earnings of 60 percent in this stratum are between 3,000 and 4,000 forints a month, while only 10 percent are earning more than 4,500 forints a month. We encounter a peculiar and automatically recurring impact of social processes: the low earnings of teachers make this profession less attractive to begin with; this causes counterselection (the most talented often switch to other professions); and the profession's dilution contributes to the low demand.

3. The average earnings of university graduates (4,721 forints per month) are about 500 forints higher than the average earnings of college graduates (4,218 forints). The type of diploma significantly influences the level of earnings only in the case of women: women who are university graduates earn on average about 600 forints more per month than women who are college graduates. In the case of men, however, a university graduate enjoys only a minimal earnings differential, about 180 forints a month, over a college graduate.

4. We will demonstrate in two ways the effect of age on the level of earnings:

--On the basis of static cross-sectional data;<sup>5</sup>

--Since the questionnaire permitted longitudinal investigation as well, we examined also how much higher the current earnings of the same persons were in comparison with their starting earnings after graduation.

a. It is somewhat surprising that we find fairly significant differentiation of earnings by age already in this period of life: the earnings of the eldest age group exceed those of the youngest by about 2,000 forints or 62 percent (see Table 2).

Table 2. Average Earnings of Young Professionals by Age and Sex  
(Forints per Month)

Age	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	29/21 (%)
Men	3308	3567	3782	4002	4323	4698	5062	5392	5666	171.3
Women	3141	3291	3485	3682	3885	4089	4316	4454	4587	146.0
Jointly	3184	3363	3549	3802	4089	4394	4699	4937	5169	162.3

The range of earnings is much wider for men than for women. The factors behind this are several: the proportion of directors or chiefs among the men is much higher; among the women, the proportion of teachers with relatively low earnings is high; and the earnings of women do not increase for some time after childbirth.

b. Longitudinal investigation revealed that the earliest (1974) graduates started with 2,233 forints and were earning 5,240 forints per month in 1982. Those who graduated four years later (in 1978) started with 2,756 forints and were earning 4,779 forints per month at the time of the survey. It is worthwhile to compare starting and current earnings also within several of the fields of study.<sup>7</sup>

Data of this kind confirm what we have already said about the relatively low earnings of graduates with degrees in education, and with time the earnings gap of this stratum only widens relative to the other professions. Teachers in 1982 earned about 1,400 forints a month more than in 1978; and graduate economists, approximately 2,200 to 2,400 forints more. In comparison with the 1975 earnings, present monthly earnings are higher by nearly 2,000 forints for teachers, and by about 3,000 to 3,200 forints for other professionals. The earnings gap of teachers relative to other professionals is unwarranted; it is based not on differences in performance, but on different valuation of the various activities. In view of the fact that upgrading of the quality of education is one of the basic social tasks for the coming years, the unfavorable financial appreciation of young educators must be changed.

5. Similarly as in other white-collar age groups, the earnings of young professionals are differentiated mainly on the basis of the grade level of their jobs, i.e., according to what positions they occupy within the hierarchic system of the division of labor. At the two extremes of the hierarchic classification ("director or chief" and "junior staff" in category B)<sup>8</sup> we encounter earnings of 6,208 and 3,567 forints, respectively. The absolute differences is about 2,600 forints; and the relative difference, 74 percent.



In 1982, according to general statistical data, the monthly earnings of persons in the "director or chief" category within the socialist sector of the economy are higher on average by 4,300 forints than of "junior staff" in category B (the difference is about 92 percent).<sup>9</sup> The data of our survey indicate that in most grades the young professionals who are university graduates earn more than the ones with only college diplomas. Within the same grades, the men always earn more than the women with the same educational qualifications.

6. There is no significant dispersion of earnings by the types of settlements in which the employer is located. The average earnings of young professionals employed in megye seats are the same as in Budapest. In comparison with them, the young professionals who accept jobs in other cities and communities earn 3 to 5 percent more. Here again the differences apply primarily to men.

7. It is common knowledge that other income-earning activity for the principal employer, to supplement regular earnings, is very important to young professionals.<sup>10</sup> About 28 percent (2,724 persons) of the sample population reported other income. The professionals in this group are able to supplement their earnings on average by 1,078 forints a month.<sup>11</sup>

The major proportion (8 [sic for 83] percent) of those with additional incomes are engaged in only one type of income-supplementing activity. The remaining 17 percent derive additional income from several sources (see Table 3).

Table 3. The Number of Young Professionals Earning Additional Incomes, and the Average Amounts of Such Incomes (Forints per Person)

<u>Source of income</u>	<u>Men</u>		<u>Women</u>		<u>Jointly</u>	
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Forints</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Forints</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Forints</u>
Solely work after regular hours, by agreement	94	772	183	614	277	667
Solely second job or part-time work	270	1385	223	1192	493	1298
Solely other income-supplementing activity*	925	886	566	673	1491	806
Several sources simultaneously	275	2171	188	1661	463	1964
All sources	1564	1191	1160	924	2724	1078

\*Teaching, designing, consulting, studies, repairs, services, construction and other activities.

Of the men in the sample population, about 36 percent (1,564 men) have additional incomes. The proportion of women is much lower, 22 percent. This lower proportion accurately reflects the fact that the ability of women to earn additional income after regular hours is necessarily more limited than in the case of men, because of family commitments.

The least lucrative source of additional income is work for the principal employer after regular hours, by special agreement. The best off are the young

professionals with additional incomes from more than one source. On average, they are able to supplement their regular earnings by nearly 2,000 forints per month. From any source of additional income, the men earn more than the women, by about 270 forints on average. The proportion of young professionals with additional incomes is higher than the average (28 percent) among those who studied, respectively, engineering and law. Their proportions are about 34 percent of the engineers, and approximately 30 percent of the law graduates. The lowest proportion (18 percent) is to be found among those who studied farming, but they in turn have the highest earnings.<sup>12</sup> The amount of additional income earned is differentiated only moderately by fields of study. Law graduates have the most additional income (1,290 forints), followed by the engineers (1,165 forints). Those who studied education earn the least additional income (977 forints a month on average).

#### Family Income of Married Young Professionals

Although we regard the average earnings of young professionals as one of the most important indicators of their financial situation, in the case of families with children these data mask the differences stemming from family size. The actual financial situation of the young professionals who are married and have children can be evaluated properly only on the basis of their monthly per capita family income.

From the data of our survey it can be established unambiguously that the financial and income situation of young professional is determined basically by whether they start families after marrying, how many children they have, and how much time elapses from the wedding until the birth of the first child (see Table 4).

Table 4. Per Capita Family Income of Young Professionals by the Number of Children (Percent)

<u>Children</u>	<u>Under 2000 forints</u>	<u>2001 to 3600 forints</u>	<u>Over 3600 forints</u>	<u>Jointly</u>
0	4.2	24.3	71.5	100.0
1	11.1	74.3	14.6	100.0
2	17.9	78.0	4.1	100.0
3	36.7	59.9	3.4	100.0
Jointly	10.5	57.1	32.4	100.0

With the birth of the first child, the income situation of married young professionals sharply declines. If the first child is followed by a second and perhaps a third, the extent of the decline will not only increase but will change into a very permanent lag. The indications of this are as follows: Until the birth of the first child, nearly three-fourths of the (childless) married young professionals have per capita monthly family incomes of more than 3,600 forints. This proportion drops to 15 percent with the birth of the first child, and to 4 percent with the birth of the second one. At the same time, with the birth of the first child there is a significant rise in the proportion of married young intellectuals with per capita family incomes of less than 2,000 forints a month, whom we may justifiably regard as hard up. The proportion of families with two children in this income bracket is 18 percent, and the proportion of families with 3 children is 37 percent.

Besides the number of children, the spouse's educational level also influences significantly the amount of the family's per capita monthly income. A common feature is that the family's per capita monthly income is lower where the husband or wife is not a university graduate. The differences are the most pronounced at the two ends of the income scale, i.e., in families with the highest and the lowest per capita monthly incomes.

The fields of study also influence to a certain extent the amount of per capita family income. From the viewpoint of income, those families are the best off where one of the spouses studied law, medicine or economics. On the other hand, the worst off are the families where one of the spouses studied education, farming or engineering. The data by main groups of occupations reflect basically the same pattern.

The time that has elapsed since graduation likewise influences somewhat the amount of per capita family income, but this effect is completely the opposite of the one we have seen in conjunction with earnings. In particular, the amount of per capita family income does not rise with age. To the contrary, if we discount the youngest married professionals (in other words, the ones who graduated in 1982), in most cases it is typical that the younger the age group, the larger the amount of per capita family income. This is because the younger the age group, the smaller the proportion of couples that already have children. This too supports the conclusion that the income situation of married young professionals is determined basically by whether or not they already have children.

Another important feature is that the family background--in other words, the father's social status--does not affect significantly the amount of per capita family income. Thus we might say that social origin does not basically influence the young professionals' income situation in the first years of their careers, despite the fact that a breakdown by social origin of the admissions to higher educational institutions shows significant differences. These differences reflect the fact that a much larger proportion of children from blue-collar families than from intellectual families are being admitted to the less prestigious higher educational institutions.

The type of settlement likewise influences to some extent the development of family income. If we take the proportion of young intellectuals in the highest income bracket, over 4,000 forints a month, then the young intellectuals living in Budapest definitely have an advantage over the ones living in other types of settlements. This can be explained by differences that are basically structural, considering that in Budapest the proportions of the best-paid young professionals who studied economics and law are higher than in the provinces, and the proportion of the lowest-paid education graduates is low. But if we take the proportion in the lowest per capita family income bracket, less than 2,000 forints a month, then we do not find any significant differences between the young professionals living in Budapest and the ones in the provinces. Which means that in all types of settlements the proportion of young professionals living amidst the most modest financial conditions is around one-tenth.

The amount of family income is closely linked also with wealth, besides the factors already mentioned. Taking a few significant and valuable possessions

as the basis, it can be established that the higher the amount of per capita family income, the wealthier the family.

#### Housing Situation

It is no exaggeration to say that the problems associated with housing are the dominant within the young professionals' overall financial situation, just as in the case of other young strata. Indeed, the view is fairly widespread that young professionals, as compared with other groups of young wage earners, are at a disadvantage in acquiring housing of their own. This view originates from the fact that young professionals, because they are starting their careers later in life than other young wage earners, have less saved up for the period when they establish a family and set up a household. Consequently, the assumption seems obvious that the young professionals' chances of acquiring housing for themselves from their own financial resources are necessarily less favorable. Actually, the young professionals' chances of acquiring housing of their own are no worse than those of others in the same age group belonging to other social strata. Indeed, the chances of young professionals in the "director or chief" grade are substantially better in comparison with the average earnings of young wage earners (see Table 5).

Table 5. Basis of Housing Occupancy in 1980 According to the Grade or Personnel Group of the Heads of Household 20 to 29 Years of Age (Percent)

Grade or group	Sole occupancy			Shared occupancy		Total
	Owners	Tenants	Jointly	Jointly	Incl.sub-tenants	
Director, chief	35.2	25.5	60.7	39.3	7.6	100.0
Professional staff	26.3	22.0	48.3	51.7	16.5	100.0
Administrative employee	16.8	17.1	33.9	66.1	24.2	100.0
Skilled worker	35.8	15.8	51.6	48.4	9.6	100.0
Semiskilled worker	30.3	18.8	49.1	50.9	11.8	100.0
Unskilled worker	28.1	19.3	47.4	52.6	10.7	100.0
Jointly*	32.2	18.1	50.3	49.7	11.5	100.0

\*Including helping family members.

It is worth underscoring this fact because a relatively objective assessment of the young professionals' housing problems is possible only if we examine them in their broader social interrelations.

It is typical also of young professionals that very significant differences exist between the married and the unmarried ones regarding the acquisition of housing of their own. An indication of this is the fact that nearly two-thirds of the married young professionals occupy housing of their own, fewer than a third live with parents, and about 6 percent are subtenants. But nearly two-thirds of the unmarried young professionals live with parents, relatively few (14 percent) live alone, and the proportion of those who are subtenants is fairly significant (13 percent).

Age too is a significant factor in determining whether young professionals are sole or sharing occupants of housing. With increasing age, the proportions of

both the married and unmarried young professionals who occupy housing of their own increase (and among them particularly the proportion of those who own the housing that they occupy). In the case of married young professionals, however, two very significant trends can be observed in the process of acquiring housing of their own. Among the young professionals who were graduated in 1979 or earlier, the proportion of those who have not acquired housing of their own and are living as family members changes only very slightly as they grow older. This leads to the conclusion that the question of whether young professionals acquire housing of their own is decided basically within the first three years after graduation. Those who have not been able to acquire housing of their own within those first three years have little chance of doing so later.

A principal factor behind this trend is that the proportion of young professionals who as tenants have been assigned housing from the local council is about the same (12 to 17 percent) in every age group. Which means that in every age group the proportion is similar of those young professionals who cannot afford (or do not need to acquire) housing from their own resources. By the same token, however, also the proportion of young professionals who within a few years are able to afford housing from their own resources is more or less the same in every age group. But the "third group" of young professionals comprises the 20 to 25 percent of the married ones who are unable to acquire housing of their own within the foreseeable future, due to the limited institutionalized availability of housing and the rapidly rising prices in the free market.

The most striking feature among the unmarried young professionals is that the proportion (20 to 22 percent) living as subtenants or in various institutions (workers' barracks, etc.) does not decline as they grow older. On the whole it can be said that about 20 percent of the young intellectuals in every age group are in a very unfavorable situation from the viewpoint of acquiring housing of their own.

With increasing family size, the married young intellectuals' prospects of acquiring housing of their own improve. However, 16 to 18 percent of the young intellectuals with two or three children are living with parents.

The spouse's educational level has a relatively modest effect on acquiring sole-occupancy housing. The slight differences in this respect indicate that couples where both spouses are diplomats have a slightly better chance of acquiring housing of their own than the couples where only one of the spouses has a diploma.

Among the married young intellectuals there are no significant differences by branches of study in the basis of present housing occupancy, but the grade or personnel group is already a significant differentiating factor. A larger proportion of the young professionals in the grade of "director or chief" than of the professional staff members are entitled to sole occupancy of housing. Furthermore, young professionals in the grade of "director or chief" are more likely to be assigned official quarters than the professional staff members. We should add, however, that demographic reasons also have contributed significantly toward the development of the identified differences, in view of the

fact that the average age of young professionals who are directors or chiefs is significantly higher than that of their subordinate staffs.

Significant differences of a social nature can be demonstrated if we examine by types of settlements the prospects of acquiring housing of one's own. The fact that 47 percent of the married young intellectuals in Budapest, but close to or more than two-thirds in other settlements, are living in sole-occupancy housing sheds light on the unfavorable housing situation of young professionals in the capital. The proportion of young professionals living as subtenants is high in Budapest and the megye seats (15 percent of the single and 7 to 10 percent of the married young professionals).

A no less important feature is that social origin does not affect significantly the prospects of acquiring sole-occupancy housing. On this basis we may justifiably conclude that our present young professionals come from families able to provide significant financial assistance to their children studying for professional careers. Thus the more prosperous family background is of the same scope more or less within every group based on social origin. But likewise true is the other side of this phenomenon: no significant differences by social origin can be demonstrated also among the young professionals with less prosperous family backgrounds. Incidentally, also this trend in itself indicates the considerable internal restratification according to wealth within every social group. All this suggests that the parents' financial situation will probably play a greater role in the social structure's reproduction every generation.

A significant relationship can be demonstrated between the amount of average earnings and sole-occupancy housing. The general trend is that among married young professionals living in sole-occupancy housing, regardless of the basis of occupancy, the proportion of low-income professionals is smaller than among married young professionals living in shared-occupancy housing (see Table 6).

Table 6. Percentage of Young Professionals With Average Earnings of Less Than 4000 Forints a Month, Within Groups by Basis of Housing Occupancy

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Tenant</u>	<u>Employee</u>	<u>Family member</u>	<u>Subtenant</u>
35.1	36.4	37.5	47.3	54.4

This permits the conclusion that young professionals with higher earnings have a better chance than the ones with low earnings to acquire housing of their own, either institutionally or from private resources. This calls attention to two very important trends. First, when a family saves for housing, in a given case the level of earnings can help or hamper the process of acquiring own housing, even though earnings provide only a small proportion of the amount of family capital required. Such cases arise when the parents of young professionals are able to help them financially to acquire housing of their own, but this assistance in itself is not enough, and the young people must have savings as well. This form of acquiring housing is very common: nearly 60 percent of the married young professionals acquire housing of their own from private resources, and presumably it will play an even greater role in the future. However, this greater role will be feasible only if the capital

accumulated by the parents can be mobilized, even though this capital alone is not enough to buy or build a housing unit and must be supplemented by a specified amount of the young people's savings. Thus it would be expedient if the young people's share of the total amount could be increased, because in this way private capital, whose participation would otherwise be difficult, could be used more extensively to help solve the married young professionals' housing situation. And from the viewpoint of the young professionals themselves, the adverse effect of a less prosperous family background would be reduced considerably.

Under the present economic conditions, the young people's share of the total investment in a housing unit cannot be increased by substantially raising their average earnings. Therefore, significant progress in this area can be made only by providing loans under conditions more favorable to the married young professionals.

In conjunction with what has been described here, a very peculiar system of interrelations can be observed if we examine the acquisition of own housing also in a breakdown by fields of study. In particular, analysis of the development of average earnings uncovered very wide dispersion in this respect by fields of study among young professionals as a whole. Especially striking was the wide departure of teachers from the average and, on the basis of the relationships described earlier, it could be assumed that the acquisition of own housing by young teachers would be a far more difficult process than for the graduates of other fields of study. The result is surprising in that teachers are no worse off than the other groups of young professionals in terms of acquiring housing of their own. The main explanation is that the overwhelming majority of young teachers are women whose husbands belong, again overwhelmingly, to other groups of young professionals, and thus the differences according to fields of study are basically equalized.

Taking all this into consideration, we may say that the acquisition of own housing by married young professionals is not determined basically by their fields of study. The point far more is that within every profession there is a not insignificant proportion of young professionals with low earnings, and if both husband and wife belong in this category of earnings, then their prospects of acquiring housing of their own are rather slim. Thus, primarily the young professionals in this group would need larger loans for housing.

Secondly, if in our investigation of the relationship between the financial situation of married young professionals and their acquisition of housing of their own we take into consideration not only their average earnings but the per capita family incomes as well, then in this respect the per capita family income would seem to be a less sensitive indicator. For here we find that the process of acquiring own housing is differentiated hardly at all by the amount of the married young professionals' per capita family income. The fact behind this seeming equalization is that the married young professionals who acquire housing of their own have larger families than the married young professionals who do not acquire housing of their own. The larger families reduce the per capita income to begin with, and this results in the aforementioned equalization.



Understandably, the young married women who have acquired housing of their own are more willing to have children than the young wives in whose families these conditions are not ensured (see Table 7).

Table 7. Percentage of Childless Couples Within Groups by Basis of Housing Occupancy

<u>Owner</u>	<u>Tenant</u>	<u>Employee</u>	<u>Family member</u>	<u>Subtenant</u>
25.4	28.2	35.1	53.1	66.7

To put it differently, low earnings hamper the married young professionals in acquiring housing of their own, and this in its turn makes them understandably reluctant to have children.

In addition to the acquisition of own housing, it is very important to investigate also the differences in the quality characteristics of housing within the stratum. In this respect the residential density and the floorspace per housing unit provide some basis for comparison. So far as residential density is concerned, it can be established that young professionals live under substantially more crowded conditions after marrying than before: only 3 percent of the unmarried young professionals, but 14 percent of the married ones, live in crowded housing units (three or more residents per room). This high residential density arises mostly when a young couple moves in with the parents of one or the other spouse and soon has a child.

Regarding overcrowding, there are perceptible differences by types of settlements. Here again the differences indicate that a much larger proportion of the young professionals are living in crowded housing in Budapest than in any other type of settlement in Hungary.

So far as the size of the housing units is concerned, the data of our survey show a very close correlation in some instances, and a fairly loose one in others, between the housing unit's floor space and certain social and demographic characteristics. As the married young professionals grow older, for example, the floorspace of their housing unit shows only minimal change. The slight change indicates that in the elder age groups the proportion of those living in small housing units (less than 50 square meters) is somewhat lower than in the younger age groups.

The difference according to marital status is already more significant among the young professionals. It indicates that married young professionals generally live in housing units with less floorspace than the unmarried ones. But the unmarried young professionals actually are living in the homes of their parents, and thus their housing conditions on the whole are not readily comparable with the housing conditions of the married young professionals.

Concerning the field of study, independently of marital status, it can be established that the proportion of those who live in spacious housing units is significantly higher among agricultural graduates than in other fields. This stems basically from the difference in the types of settlements. It is far easier to acquire a large home in villages, where most of the agricultural graduates have settled. The data by types of settlements also confirm this: 42 percent of the married young professionals in villages, but only 16 to 23



percent in cities, are living in large housing units (larger than 80 square meters).

If we take the married young professionals, it can be established that larger families go with larger housing units, in view of the fact that a higher proportion of the families with two or three children live in large housing units than of the childless families or families with one child.

Finally, very important is the fact that the family background, i.e., the father's social status, influences the size of the housing unit only slightly or not at all. Among those of working-peasant stock the proportion living in large housing units is slightly higher than average, but this again can be explained by differences in the types of settlements.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Although the sample population for the survey was large enough, the survey did not undertake to investigate certain small groups. Thus the young professionals working for central government agencies and the councils, in higher education and research, and artists, journalists and cultural workers were not included in the sample population. These young professionals account for 11 or 12 percent of the total number of young professionals.
2. The megye directorates of the Central Statistical Office, and the KISZ organizations in the megyes and at the enterprises, provided very valuable assistance in conducting the survey.
3. The sources of these data are the 1972 and 1977 income surveys of the Central Statistical Office. The 1982 data on skilled workers are based partially on standard labor statistical reporting and partially on estimates.
4. The median is the value that represents the midpoint of a sample population, with 50 percent above it and the other 50 percent below it.
5. Here we compare the data of age groups 21 through 29 at the time of the survey (1982).
6. About 54 percent of the (5,400) women in the sample are teachers.
7. To simplify presentation, we have investigated the data only of the young professionals who graduated in 1975 and 1978. The choice of these two years was influenced also by considerations of sample size.
8. According to the regulations now in force governing classification into grades, "director or chief" embraces the entire top level of management and administration, from the director general down to and including the chief of an independent section.
9. This figure is the combined average of all age groups (and not only from 21 to 29).

10. Our data of this kind are based on the answers of the surveyed subjects, and therefore we are able to report only on incomes that probably are lower than the actual incomes. Moreover, investigation did not include income from farming on household plots. Therefore the data must be treated with some reservation.
11. It may be regarded as certain that many more young professionals have additional incomes. Doctors, for example, did not report gratuities at all.
12. See the data in Table 1.

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CSO: 2500/33

KISIELEWSKI ELUCIDATES PAST, PRESENT POLITICAL TURMOIL

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 30 Oct 84 p 3

[Interview with Stefan Kisielewski by Jerzy Mikke: "Origins and Orientations"]

[Text] Question: You are not a lay Church official like Stanislaw Stomma, Andrzej Micewski and Jerzy Turowicz, i.e. the people we interviewed before you on this page, so we can start our conversation in a less serious, slightly different tone.

Answer: Nothing I say will be as wise as what you heard from those men. Stilts don't suit me.

Question: Everybody knows Kisiel's views but hardly anybody knows your biography particularly before the war.

Answer: Well then, I was born three years before the First World War in Warsaw which I can still remember a little from those years. My first major interest was music, which surprised my parents a lot since there was no musical tradition, nor even a single musical instrument at home.

Question: But you inherited the literary tradition from your uncle Jan August and from your father.

Answer: At that time this meant nothing to me. My uncle, August, lived in Cracow where he was a known playwright at the time of the Young Poland Movement, while my father, Zygmunt, was a novelist, stage critic and columnist. I began to write when I was twenty and became increasingly involved in politics.

Question: What kind of politics? I imagine you never belonged to the left wing?

Answer: Not at all. My father was a member of the Polish Legions and of the Polish Military Organization (POW) which means he was a keen Pilsudski follower and when I entered university I joined the Legion of the Young. This was an organization which supported Pilsudski but it proved terribly oriented towards the left. Its members included Stefan Zolkiewski, Stefan Jedrychowski and Wacław Zagórski. Wincenty Rzymowski, who later became

socialist Poland's foreign minister and the Democratic Alliance (SD) president, was its ideological mentor. I had a quarrel with Rzymowski over Dmowski, since at one of our seminar I delivered a paper praising the former national democrats and based it on Dmowski's book "Polish Politics and the State Reconstruction" and some didn't like it. So I left the Legion of the Young in 1932. By the way, I never completed my university education--I studied the Polish language for one year and philosophy for two years--but I graduated from three departments of the Warsaw Conservatory.

Question: What brought you to the POLITYKA weekly?

Answer: At first, together with editor-in-chief Jerzy Giedroyc, Konstanty Lubienski, brothers Adolf and Aleksander Bochenski and with another pair of brothers Ksawery and Mieczyslaw Pruszyński we founded the BUNT MŁODYCH biweekly which we later renamed POLITYKA. [...]

Question: Your POLITYKA supported neither Pilsudski nor the national democrats.

Answer: No, it was a conservative-liberal weekly with a federational program drawing on the never fulfilled Pilsudski concept of openness to the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Jews and other minorities.[...]

Question: Later the war broke out?

Answer: Yes, and first as an Officer Cadet and later as Second Lieutenant of the 9th Infantry Regiment I took part in the battles of Zamosc and Usciulg and then walked back to Warsaw. During the occupation I worked as a pianist in ballet schools and wrote my first book, a psychological novel about the last months in Warsaw before the war and in September 1939.

Question: I read SPRZYSIEZENIE [Conspiracy] soon after the war. For those years, it was a very erotic book.

Answer: I also worked for the underground radio. I was wounded during the 1944 Warsaw Rising and somehow made my way to Skierniewice and next to Cracow here I at once joined TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY. It was Czeslaw Milosz who introduced me there. And so, for all these years, I have been scribbling for it.

Question: Although it has always been independent and worthy of respect, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY has been changing during this period. But you have not, and this is what I credit you so highly for.

Answer: For what?

Question: For remaining the same, always different from others.

Answer: Some people think this is bad. At first many educated people didn't like my columns since they teased the public a bit. A bishop asked me "Are you doing well sprinkling salt on still fresh wounds?" The name of this

bishop of Lublin was Stefan Wyszynski. But he later got used to my columns and the others did so too although quite often readers pick out of them only what they want to hear.

Question: During the first years after the war you also used to write for DZIS I JUTRO.

Answer: Yes, Piasecki encouraged us, i.e. the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY group, to begin making a joint policy in the Sejm. This was still before the PAX association was formed. In 1947 it seemed possible that a considerable group of Catholics from the five catholic groupings of that time, namely from TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, TYGODNIK WARSZAWSKI, DZIS I JUTRO, Lublin Catholic University [KUL] and Caritas, would win seats in the Sejm from a separate list. Cyrankiewicz promised us 48 seats and Cardinal Hlond was even willing to give us his support. But Mikolajczyk thought we were subversive to the PSL [Polish Peasants Alliance] and the whole matter was hushed up. Eventually only three people won seats--those who were unofficially attached to DZIS I JUTRO. When the PSL ceased to exist, frosty years did come and PAX receivership was imposed on TYGODNIK. I took to writing books and music then. I believe you may not realize that I wrote 12 novels out of which only four were published in Poland (SPRZYSIEZENIE [Conspiracy] and ZBRODNIA W DZIELNICY POLNOCNEJ [Crime in the Northern District] plus two under the pen-name of Teodor Klon (MIALEM TYLKO JEDNO ZYCIE [I Had Only One Life] and KOBIETY I TELEFON [Women and Telephones]). My books published abroad include CIENIE W PIECZARZE (Shadows In a Cave), WIDZIANE Z GORY (A Birds Eye View) and ROMANS ZIMOWY (A Winter Romance) all of which appeared under the pen-name of Tomasz Stalinski. With only two exceptions, all these books describe life in Poland.

Question: After October 1956 you returned to writing columns and to politics. You became a ZNAK caucus deputy to the Sejm and you could be heard there for two terms.

Answer: I even regret today that in 1965 I voluntarily handed over this seat to somebody else--I could argue much longer for certain matters such as the free market, the right to private manufacturing and preferential treatment of private trades. My colleagues talked in the Sejm about imponderables while I would have dealt with common sense in the economy.

Question: What do you think were the most important events in Poland's post-war history?

Answer: In the negative sense it was the year 1948 and in the positive sense, the 20th CPSU Congress and particularly Khrushchev's address which changed the current of Soviet policy.

Question: But at least in its first phase the movement of October 1956 was created by the rank and file and was spontaneous, particularly in Warsaw.

Answer: So what? But, true, it produced essential changes, it changed the situation of the Church, protected private farming against destruction and

opened the prison gates [...]. In addition it emancipated intellectuals and scientists and although still only to a timid extent at that time, it opened the border to the West.

Question: Didn't August 1980 surprise you?

Answer: Yes, it did. But it was the scale of that movement rather than the fact that it took place that surprised me. Ten million people! I keep thinking all the time whether it would have met the same end if the situation had developed a bit differently, if there had been less words and more action. [----] [The Law on Censorship of July 3] 1981 Article 2, Paragraph 1. (DZIENNIK USTAW No. 20, item 99; amended 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No. 44, item 204)].

Question: What do you think about the amnesty?

Answer: It was a wise move necessary to both sides. But I doubt if anything more will come out of it.

Question: So you don't believe in further steps?

Answer: Yes. If logic ruled politics in Poland further steps would be necessary, particularly in our economic situation.

Question: What steps?

Answer: We should become a real display window for the socialist camp, i.e. a country with a special economic structure, showing respect for private farming, private trades etc. In order to overcome the crisis, the Polish economy must be ruled by different laws, just as the role of the Church is different in Poland than elsewhere, which by now has become generally understood.

Question: Don't you think that the role of the Church today has changed from how it was at the time of Gomulka and Gierek?

Answer: Yes, I do. But I am not sure if the Church is not beginning to fail to meet public expectations.

Question: Why so? Never before August 1980 has the Church pronounced itself so openly on public matters and never has it been treated by the authorities as a necessary partner in actions to promote society's moral revival.

Answer: That's true. But remember that the Church has always been guided by what is possible and necessary rather than by wishful thinking.

This may produce differences between the Church and the public. The Church is careful with words.

Question: For the time being, however, the Church satisfies the natural public ambitions as concerns the shaping of national consciousness; it integrates various initiatives and sponsors the arts and intellectual communities.

Answer: I have personally taken part in many meetings held in church buildings. The hunger for words is general, the people long for the truth and for artistic emotions. Life itself has given rise to these needs independently of agreements between the Church and the state. I fear however that expectations may grow while the possibilities to meet them will not keep the pace [----] [The Law on Censorship of July 31, 1981, Article 2, Paragraph 1. 3].

Question: Do you think international detente will be possible if Reagan is re-elected?

Answer: No.

Question: Do you think that at the present level of technological and economic development it is possible to live for many years with one finger ready to press the nuclear button?

Answer: Yes, I believe so.

Question: How do you see the immediate future of the world and Europe in particular. Do you believe in World War III?

Answer: I don't believe in the war, and anyway I hate telling fortunes from a tea-cup. But if you insist. Well, I believe that the new computer revolution will change social structures and transform the working class into functionaries. In the developed countries unemployment will increase greatly. Isn't mankind facing a dangerous utopia where a little work guarantees man's prosperity. We, of course, are not facing this threat since socialism has its ways to employ everybody regardless of financial performance. But what for?

Question: Is it possible to imagine that at the present technological level only half of the world will experience the computer revolution and the other half not. Is a situation possible where part of the world isolates itself with a hermetic barrier from the world centers of technical civilization?

Answer: The lines dividing the world are different today. Some industrializing Asian and African countries will soon draw ahead of Western Europe. The social structures in those countries leading in electronics will become different from those in the backward countries.

Question: Does the blessing of technological progress pay off when compared with such threats to civilization as the ecological situation or overpopulation?

Answer: The world today exists thanks to an unwritten law of equilibrium. On the one hand we are witnessing a total destruction of nature, poverty and starvation in the underdeveloped Third World countries and on the other there are all those unheard of medical achievements, quickly-developing social security and charitable actions by some countries for other states.

Question: Personally, I don't believe that overpopulation and growing disproportions between the rich and the poor, intensified by increasingly quick exhaustion of mineral deposits will permit the preservation of this balance for long.

Answer: Do you mean that the world will destroy itself anyway without the help of an atom bomb?

Question: It is I not you who is conducting this interview.

Answer: During the past several decades science has made such progress that it will certainly invent something in the coming years to prevent a catastrophe.

Question: Kisiel is hiding his head in the sand and, in the old Polish fashion, states: "Somehow it will work out."

Answer: Let others worry about what happens after I am gone. The laws of nature are wiser than our logic.

Question: Suppose you were born in England or France, what would you be--a left or right winger or perhaps you wouldn't involve yourself in politics at all?

Answer: Right wing is a wrong word. To be exact I would be a conservative liberal, which I have been in fact since my early adolescence, even though these notions have grown so complicated these days. During the first years after the war communists and social democrats managed to score a big psychological success [----] [The Law on Censorship of July 31, 1981].

Question: The masses don't take a long-term view of the state and its interests but think in terms of immediate gains.

Answer: This has recently been changing since the masses in the West have become somewhat disappointed with the promises of the socialist and social-democratic parties. Even Mitterand is visibly moving towards the right.

You asked if I would involve myself in politics if I lived in the West. I suppose I would be only an on-looker since politics lives an independent life there. But in Poland such involvement has become indispensable for any one who tries to think. It simply contains an answer to the question "How to live?"

Question: Have you always been a believer, a Catholic?



Answer: When I was young I considered myself an atheist for some time, since some biblical instructions appeared to me as spectacular legends, like the story of the garden of Eden. But I always believed in the existence of Satan although he has been attracting little attention in the Church these days. I think that a distinction should be drawn in the Catholic religion between historical stories and what is called the revealed truth. I believe that God interferes with the life of every individual and of mankind on the whole. The Church councils' instruction and ecumenism seem to me the source of the Church's strength in the contemporary world.

Question: Looking back at the past forty years, what would you like to change in your life?

Answer: I wasted a lot of time on silly discussions and politics, I started many things and then abandoned them, I neglected music and composition, but I haven't changed--as you have correctly noted--in one respect. Apart from music I can think about nothing else but Poland. With the exception of my two earlier books, there is nothing I have wanted to write about which has not been connected with our reality.

Question: Therefore every thinking person knows who Kisiel is.

Answer: Even if he knows that, it is because--as somebody noted teasingly--I have made a career writing columns. I wrote about 2,000 of them--longer articles excluded--but with the passage of time all these became lost amidst other things. Columns and articles are short-lived--one day you talk about it, the next you forget it.

Question: But a few volumes of your columns were published separately.

Answer: Yes, three little selections of columns, essays and music criticism in forty years both in Poland and abroad. But in the West nobody reads these things. They don't understand the context of events and the definite situations in which those columns or articles were written.

Therefore I would like to write a book of my life and put down everything I know about Poland in it.

Question: I wish you success with all my heart. Finally let me ask you about your opinion about PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI.

Answer: I think that we at last have the second ambitious Catholic weekly. The several issues published so far had something fresh in them. You perhaps need some more good columns and controversial articles. Don't try to behave like a young girl flattering all her admirers and wanting to say a virgin at the same time. This rarely works. Anyway, your weekly has a character of its own and is not a collection of incidentally assembled articles.

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REGIME'S OPPONENTS ACCUSED OF SUPPORTING REVANCHISM

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Oct 84 p 4

[Article by Jan Rusinowicz: "Modern Philo-Germanism"]

[Text] For quite some time [increased] pro-Bonn activity by a few, very resourceful Polish citizens at home and abroad, has been observable. Their propaganda uses the West German bourgeois mass media, publications at the disposal of North American centers for espionage and subversion, and illegal Polish publications. They cultivate a peculiar philo-Germanism.

Among the Polish communities, especially in the Federal Republic, Great Britain, and the United States, Leszek Kolakowski is clearly in the lead in this respect. He was even awarded a special prize by the West German booksellers in 1976. Kolakowski devoted his acceptance address (intended for a West German audience) to attacking the Polish political system. He developed his theses in his book STRUGGLE FOR POLAND'S FREEDOM published in West Germany in 1981, which presents the main arguments of the anti-Polish counterrevolution. Meanwhile, on March 15, 1977, the Neo-Nazi DEUTSCHE NATIONAL ZEITUNG published Leszek Kolakowski and Adam Michnik's famous essay advising "people of goodwill in the Federal Republic of Germany and in other Western countries" of the foundation of KOR [Workers' Defense Committee] and asking for financial support for its activities. The "people of goodwill" they were addressing were, first of all, Neo-Nazis, activists of revanchist organizations and the right wing of the Christian Democrats.

Meanwhile, in 1980, one of the activists of the so-called "flying university," Stefan Amsterdamski said: "Finally, I would like to draw attention to something that is more important to the Polish national problem than the examples mentioned by the speaker [to one of the KOR "flying university's" colloquies--J.R.], the German national tragedy. The ordinary Pole knows very well what the right to a unified nation means, to closeness and to being together. However, he does not understand that his neighbors have the same right or that if you stubbornly deny them this right for a long time, you should expect to face the consequences of your denial."

On August 16, 1980, Axel Springer's anti-Polish DIE WELT, published an interview with Jacek Kuron, in which the interviewer, Karl Gustaw Stroehm, characterized Kuron: "He, so he told me, favors the reunification of Germany,

because once Germany is united, Poland will border on a non-Communist country, making many things including internal development easier."

In 1982, Adam Michnik, another KOR organizer and inspirer of Solidarity, has also dwelled upon the subject of the injuriousness of the division of Germany and of the anachronism of the European postwar, Yalta-Potsdam, territorial and political order. This time, on the Radio Free Europe he stated that "the division of Germany is an offense to the entire civilized world" and that "if Poles themselves are not interested in the reunification of Germany and do not come to terms with the Germans, Poles will lose their chance, regardless of whether Germany is reunited with Soviet approval or through a German policy of strength." He also argued that "Poland is critical in the entire East Central European balance of forces and any change in the system of government in Poland would open new possibilities for changes in the neighboring countries, which would presumably help Germany reunite."

On March 2, 1982, another vitriolic Springer-owned paper, WELT AM SONNTAG published the opinions of the open traitor, Zdzislaw Rurarz, headlined Why Poland Needs A United Germany. In calling for the formation of an "under-Poland," following the introduction of martial law (forced by the situation [in Poland]), he did not fail to emphasize that such a Poland, recommended by secret Washington directives, should lead to a "Polish-German union" under the protectorate of the Western capitalist states. Rurarz went on to say that "the reunification of Germany would revive the spirit of anticommunism in both parts of Germany, which," in his opinion, "would be a positive development from the point of view of Polish interests." He also assured his readers, contrary to history, that "preceding World War II, the previous German campaign against Poland took place in 1157," while the 800 years between these wars "were spent on fruitful cooperation between the two nations."

Lech Walesa, that "sergeant in the trenches," as Kuron called him, has not failed to trumpet the same tune. He joined this brass band, however, as late as December 5, 1982, much later than the other "leaders." Evidently, the order in which Walesa appears on stage is also determined by the "leaders'" instructions. He made his statement on the German question not only on his own behalf, but on behalf of "all of us, Poles." The West German BUNTE weekly quoted Walesa as saying: "We highly esteem the Germans, particularly for their substantial help to us. They have come forward with the most generous help. Tell your fellow-countrymen that we, Poles, will never forget that. Both Poles and Germans know what suffering is. At least Poles in their suffering are one nation, whereas you, Germans, are divided, and this is awful..." The pan-germanic propaganda went into raptures over this statement. Walesa, just like other partisans of "freeing Eastern Europe," equates "the sufferings of Poles and Germans."

Are these his own words I wonder? Anyway, no matter whose words he uses, he wins Washington and Bonn's applause and support. Therefore, they just can't resist sending him parcels and reporters, praising and rewarding him with the Nobel prize or artificial doctorates.

In 1981, various KOR publishers, KULTURA of Paris and the West German FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG (of November 13) published DWIE OJCZYZNY-DWA PATRIOTYZMY (UWAGI O KSENOFOBII I MEGALOMANII POLAKOW) [TWO MOTHERLANDS-TWO PATRIOTISMS (REMARKS ON POLISH XENOPHOBIA AND MEGALOMANIA)] by Jan Jozef Lipski, another animator of counterrevolutionary activity. In the Hamburg-based DER SPIEGEL weekly of July 30 and August 20, 1984, Lipski presented his main arguments, adjusted to the new situation of 1984. These texts vulgarly distort the history of Polish-German relations, negating the DRANG NACH OSTEN of the propertied classes which has been so dangerous to Slavs and Poles and propagating aspirations identical to those of West German revanchists. Lipski lays the charge of having wronged Germans following World War II at the Poles' door. This wrong, the resettlement of the German population from their ancient lands on the Oder, Neisse and Baltic, was a consequence of the international Potsdam Conference. Lipski argues that Poles should right this wrong on behalf of the Christian ethic and a return to Western European civilization, to "our largest motherland, Europe," which is, according to him, our secret dream. "Hence," Lipski goes on, "we must seek reconciliation with the Germans who are and will be a part of Europe."

The title given to Lipski's text, "The Myth of the German 'DRANG NACH OSTEN' Is Our Excuse," by the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, for example, shows how useful such articles are to the West German nationalists. "Our excuse" means the excuse of us, "megalomaniac," "xenophobic" and "wrong-doing" Poles. However, this is not enough for Lipski. He repeats his arguments, worthy of Goebbels himself, in the above-mentioned interviews in DER SPIEGEL. Moreover, contrary to the facts, he adds that any moral or historical justification of Poland's return to its old Western and Northern territories is irrational and was put forward without asking the opinion of Poles themselves. In his philo-Germanic zeal Lipski forgets the arguments of the Provisional Government of National Unity [June 28, 1945 - January 19, 1947], including Deputy Prime Minister Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, advanced at the Potsdam Conference. He also claims that warning people against the German "DRANG NACH OSTEN" is a symptom of the "sickness of the Polish soul" and a "scapegoat" of official Polish propaganda.

Needless to say, the "philo-Germanic" circle includes Jerzy Giedroyc, the head of the Literary Institute, the Paris-based, Polish-language subversive center, which publishes the KULTURA monthly, among other things. This time Giedroyc appeared on Radio Free Europe on September 24. Referring to a poll of emigre journalists and activists concerning the reunification of Germany, he said that reunification could even be in Poland's interest. "Then, Poland would directly border on the West," he observed. However, he preferred to make no mention of where this border would run. This was explained by Bronislaw Wildstein, editor of another Polish-language paper KONTAKT, who believes that if the German revanchists reached the Oder, it would allow the big neighbors "to play a political game." The only drawback of this conception is that no one knows what to do with the Poles living on the Oder and Neisse.

The articles I have fragmentarily discussed here are similar in their contents and style. They express the basic tenets of the anticommunist and anti-Polish crusade started by Washington and NATO, which are formulated and propagated, above all, in the interest of the modern "DRANG NACH OSTEN" formation, the American and West German arms producers. This crusade requires support from the Poles; because all the Polish people, including the vast majority of the Poles living abroad, unanimously defend Polish territorial integrity and sovereignty, the authors of this new version of the "DRANG NACH OSTEN" must make do with such poor quality propaganda pieces as those quoted here, cooked up by a few individuals willing to do anything. These few include worn-out philo-Germans, sleuths of imperialist intelligence, die-hard anti-communists, organizers of PPN [Polish agreement for Independence], KOR, KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland], Solidarity extremists, and the people trained and manipulated by them.

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KANIA CHAIRS NEW COMMISSION

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Oct 84 p 5

[Article by Z. Sem.: "Observance of the Trade Union Law"]

[Text] The Control Bodies Commission for Socio-Occupational Matters, established at the Council of State, held its first meeting on October 24. The agenda included a report on the observance of the trade-union law by enterprise administrations (by the Supreme Chamber of Control NIK) and an assessment of the methods for settling worker disputes. The Commission met under the chairmanship of Stanislaw Kania.

According to NIK information the progress in implementing the trade-union law depends to a large degree on the registration date of the trade-union organization and the election date. The earlier the union was established, the better its cooperation with the enterprise management. NIK materials show other such regularities. In enterprises where the managerial staff has joined the trade union, the cooperation between administration and union organizations has developed more properly. The standard of legal services in the enterprises and the signing of agreements between the unions and worker self-managements, authorized to make decisions, have also had an impact on this cooperation. In fact, however, there are many enterprises where the trade-union law is not being properly executed. Participants stressed their concern that in two-thirds of the enterprises inspected the management was to blame for this state of affairs. Bearing this in mind, the participants felt the trade unions deserved special recognition for their work, and stipulated that managers should attend training sessions and that conclusions regarding personnel should be drawn.

According to the data provided by the State Labor Inspectorate, there were 556 collective disputes in 408 enterprises. Negotiations helped defend the trade unions' position in 89.3 percent of the cases. Five disputes were lodged with the Citizens' Arbitration Court. Of these one was resolved in favor of the trade-union members. In the others, the sides settled the problem themselves. This information shows that the mechanism for settling disputes between an employer and his employees guaranteed by the trade-union law, can prevent collective disputes from becoming open conflicts.

The results of this discussion will be forwarded to the Council of State. One of the resolutions calls for a comprehensive evaluation of the observance of the trade-union law.

OFFICIAL DISMISSES CENTRALIZED PLANNING AS CREDIBLE OPTION

Warsaw ODRÓDZENIE in Polish No 40, 2 Oct 84 pp 10, 11

[Interview with Professor Zdzisław Sadowski, deputy government commissioner for economic reform, by Elżbieta Gotowiec and Mieczysław Komuda; date and place not given]

[Text] Question: Everything in this world has a price. So does the reform of a system. Do you think the price the society is paying for the reform is the lowest possible, the optimum or really high?

Answer: And how do you calculate the cost of saving the life of a patient who is in a critical condition? Well, this is the kind of situation we found ourselves in.

In economics there is the notion of alternative cost, where we compare the cost of action with the cost of another variant or the cost involved in taking no action at all. In this case, the cost of inaction would be incomparably higher. If not for that comparison, we would have to say, of course, that the reformatory moves entail definite costs, e.g., ones related to organizational changes or the loss of their previous positions by some people. There are also the costs of teething troubles, of mastering new methods of action and using new instruments. All of this just cannot be compared to the losses that were incurred as a result of waste that characterized the old system of functioning of the economy. If as a result of the reform it is possible to eliminate at least a part of the waste and its reasons, it will be hard to speak about any costs at all.

Question: Has any report or some other document ever been prepared summing up the economic activity of the 1970's, a document that would serve as a point of reference for our present economic attainments?

Answer: Yes, there is such a document. It was prepared by the Government Planning Commission in 1981. It summed up the state of the economy and the phenomena ensuing from the previous period. Then this document became a basis for preparing the program of emerging from the crisis. But so much was happening in 1981 that these documents were soon forgotten. There were also many analytical papers, both general and detailed ones.

Question: Then we had internal and external determinants that blurred the picture of reformatory endeavors. But would you undertake to prove today that on balance the reform has been profitable for us?

Answer: It had been proved to society in the most brutal way, i.e., through the economic crisis, that it is impossible to stick to the old command-and-quota system which brought this crisis about. I do not think you need more proof of the necessity of a deep reform of our ways of running the socialist economy. Therefore I do not think it is necessary to defend the reform by looking for net gains. The reform is a method of treating a diseased economic organism. Does the doctor have to justify why he is treating a patient and see if it pays? The only problem is the choice of the method of treatment.

Question: Some commentators are of the opinion that the command-and-quota system would be a more effective way of running the economy, if only it were wisely and consistently applied.

Answer: This idea, which might be termed an enlightened command system, is based on a dream about optimum planning based on scientific principles. Such a theory is elaborated in detail in the political economy of socialism. You can wrap it in a most elegant fashion, attractive by the modernity of the formalized mathematical approach applied in it. There must be few people who would not succumb to the charm of such an orderly picture of the economy in one stage of their lives or another. The problem is that this picture does not match real human behavior. The economic system does not operate that way, whether at the decisionmaking or the executive end. We learned in a very painful way that commands are not the way to achieve high efficiency. The command system requires the establishment of a hierarchic and bureaucratic structure of economic management, which hampers economic processes and destroys adaptability and initiative, whereas efficient management requires the stimulation of initiative from the bottom, not counter to but in line with the organizing general strategy. People should do the things the society needs not because they are forced to do it but because they are interested in it. Commands could be useful as an auxiliary instrument but they cannot serve as the basis of operation of a sound economy.

Somebody might argue that, after all, the command system in other countries operates much better than in Poland. It is true that every experience is valuable and must be taken advantage of. However, it is necessary to be aware of the differences between us and them. There are many such differences, therefore I am not going to generalize my observations which refer solely to the Polish experience.

Question: We have reformed the economy for almost 3 years now so we can afford to sum up the experience already. Let us begin with credibility. The reform is being introduced by people who only decided to go ahead with it under the pressure from society. Are they, therefore, trustworthy? In other words, people who made up the so-called economic and political decisionmaking center were not raising the necessity of a deep economic reform in the late 1970's. Then came the social protests and, according to the general opinion, the same people are now introducing the reform.



Are we to believe that the people from the central administration love the reform?

Answer: This is not the true historical background of the reform. The awareness of the necessity to make a fresh attempt to reform the economy was particularly visible in the second half of the 1970's, after the fiasco of the earlier WOG reform. I worked at the Institute of Planning then, where very intensive work was going on on a conception of the reform in reference to earlier experience, and this was just one of many teams working on the problems of the functioning of the economy and the indispensable system changes, just to mention the conceptions connected with the Polish Economic Society, Lodz University, or the Higher School of Planning and Statistics. It can be said that at the end of the 1970's, the intellectual activity among economists and specialists in management science centered on the need of a reform and on its principles was quite strong. This activity drew on the achievements of people who have always worked on these problems.

The political will of the implementation of reforms was a different problem. This will was indeed lacking among the previous political leadership of the country. It only emerged as a result of the crisis and the changes brought about by the social protest of 1980. One sign of the emergence of this will was the establishment of the huge Social Commission for the Reform at the end of 1980. This commission was not a rubberstamp body, indeed it worked very energetically. As a result, a mature draft of the reform was already submitted to and accepted by the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR in July 1981. On this basis, we proceeded to implement the reform, in very disadvantageous both economic and sociopolitical conditions, as you must remember. When there is political struggle, substantive arguments and rational reasoning are important. The question of reliability is also related to it.

I do not think it is justified to say that it is "the same people" who are now making the reform. You should not forget about the vast personnel changes at all levels of management. However, to replace all the people would be neither feasible nor necessary. You can find skill and experience in very different kinds of brains and it would be a mistake to dismiss them lightheartedly.

On the other hand, it is a fact that the program of reform adopted at the 9th Congress became an object of political struggle. Generally speaking, there were no major counterproposals but there were some contentious issues, e.g., ones concerning individual provisions pertaining to the status of enterprises or worker self-management. There were calls for subordinating everything to the market, which could hardly be termed as a program because they did not take into account the existing economic situation. Solidarity did not have a uniform economic program but rather three very different ones, including one that was quite similar to the government program. There had also been conceptions which already Professor Lange termed as anarcho-syndicalist ones and which envisaged replacing state property with group property. However, in the end substantial discussion all but disappeared and there was the government program of the reform on one side and its

negation and distortion on the other. Therefore it is hard to say that the reform program adopted by the 9th PZPR Congress was implemented under social pressure.

Question: It was introduced at the least favorable moment, in the period of martial law.

Answer: Martial law was a way of controlling the chaos. It was not possible to delay the reform any longer because of the state of the economy.

You used the word "credibility." Of course, the mood of frustration that emerged in connection with martial law was not conducive to obtaining the desired public support for the reform. On top of that, there came the growth of prices which should have taken place much earlier, but, as it coincided with the beginning of the reform, was associated by society with the reform process. The previous period engendered the conviction among many people that a good reform should produce overnight and automatically an improvement of the market situation and put an end to the crisis. People expected an improvement but in actual fact the situation got worse.

Question: And what is the attitude of society to the reform today? It is integrated around the problems connected with the reform and does it support it? One Warsaw cab driver told me that when he traveled to the West, he had no idea about the economic system in force there but he could earn a fine sum of money. He said he did not have to know the mechanisms of the reform, that he was not interested in them--he wanted to live and let other people live.

Answer: Your cab driver's comment quite closely matches my view of the matter. A year ago the Opinion Research Center carried out a survey. Then it turned out that 24 percent of the people knew what the reform was about. This was a disappointment which led to an outcry about too few people being interested in this matter. However, I, like that Warsaw cabbie, thought that it is impossible to expect the average man to be interested in the reform. It is the experts who should know the reform inside and out, while the citizen should feel that the economy is functioning the way it should and that he can get the things he needs. I guess that's what most people think about economic matters.

As the economic situation improves slowly and the market situation remains difficult, the general attitude to the reform must be rather skeptical. The reform could not possibly meet the expectations and there is not enough patience.

On the other hand, I think that the reform in action, i.e., the new economic principles and instruments, has become a bread-and-butter affair and that an overwhelming majority of the people who are professionally involved in using these instruments support the reform. I have not the slightest doubt about that.

Question: Have you never heard the urging: "Do clean up this mess at last!"?

Answer: Of course, I myself would gladly undo the mess myself. However, the main problem consists in normalizing the operation of the market and the supplies of materials because all other matters are related to it: the funds for wages, the investment capital, organization of production, rational employment, technological progress, product quality and all that "mess." The cleaning up does not consist in introducing a rigid organization of management because this is precisely what leads to the "economic mess."

Question: Are you confident that if a plebiscite were taken today on the subject of a possible return to the command system, the majority of people would say no?

Answer: I am convinced that a relative majority would be in favor of carrying on the reform. I said relatively there would be many don't-knows.

Question: What stipulations of the reform have not been implemented in practice yet? Let us begin with the reorganization of the center.

Answer: Had the international economic situation been slightly better and had it not been for the restrictions, we would have been able to advance farther. The actual conditions were much worse than those envisaged by the authors of the documents, hence the delay. However, I am not able to perceive a single element contained in the initial reform program that would not be implemented in practice. The lack of changes in the structure of the central administration is one of the frequently raised charges. However, the original reform document envisaged the establishment of three ministries encompassing all of industry. This has been carried out in principle. The possibility of ending up with just one ministry of industry is still a matter of the future. At present it is believed that the conditions are not ripe for sudden reorganization as it would not promise an improvement in the methods of activity. Indeed, the main emphasis should nowadays be placed on improving the mode of functioning of the administration.

Question: Then it is not true that there are several rival decisionmaking centers in Warsaw?

Answer: This picture does not correspond to reality. The decisionmaking process looks differently. There are collective bodies, whose members have different views. If everybody thought the same, there would be no need for collective bodies. An outsider might get the impression that there in the center they almost shoot at one another, wrestling out the decisions they are interested in. Such impressions are the outcome of the lack of democratic tradition. We must get accustomed to treating differences of opinion as a natural thing and to different opinions resulting in jointly made decisions. The process of transformations taking place in Poland is headed precisely in that direction. The different views of society stem from the fact that we have so very many huge and small problems to overcome and it is difficult to avoid various inconsistencies in action.

Question: So we must learn to govern despite differences of opinion. Do we also have to learn to live with pressure groups?

Answer: Pressure groups exist in every society. One of our problems is that for many years we pretended that in Poland they did not exist. The problem is that in the command system some pressure groups became institutionalized and have actually penetrated the apparatus and established their presence there.

This means that pressure groups also exist today. The point is not to eliminate them--which would not be possible--but rather for the authorities to be able to become a mediator between various conflicting group interests. I think we have made some progress in the direction of depriving various pressure groups of their institutional character but as long as the crisis exists there are factors that slow down this process.

Question: Which group interest has been giving you the most trouble recently?

Answer: It's the economy, not myself, who faces the trouble. The question is not so simple. There are industry groups, such as the coal industry or the steel industry, and various professional groups. The growing role of trade unions plays an immense role in this respect. This is a very difficult group to handle, because, by definition, it has to complicate the problem of pursuing the proper policy with regard to prices and incomes. Of course, they do so out of concern for the interests of the workers. Another very difficult group are the private farmers. The farmers demand higher produce procurement prices, while the unions are against food price rises. This example shows that it would be necessary to create a mechanism whereby these groups would negotiate with one another and make the basic choices with regard to the policy of prices and incomes. The government would be a mediator in these negotiations. So long as the government has to negotiate separately with each group it is a party to those negotiations and in the end is forced to make unpopular decisions.

Question: Let's look at self-management now. The implementation of this item of the reform has been criticized on many occasions already. Many managers elected in competitive selection procedures have been recalled by the parent bodies.

Answer: The law on self-government very clearly defines the powers of such bodies. They are not organs engaged in day-to-day running of the enterprises but rather internal control bodies. Supervision over the activity of a state-owned enterprise is a matter of fundamental significance for the proper use of public property. All the citizens of the country are the owners, and kind of stockholders, of a state-owned enterprise. Their property is managed by the enterprise management. How are the owners expected to supervise the activity of the directors? The reform documents envisaged a dual control. External control is exercised by the parent body and internal one by the self-management body. The powers of the self-management bodies are considerable and the important thing is to use them actively and consciously. This process is expanding and the self-management bodies are beginning to work ever more vigorously and skillfully. Of course, there are also some problems.

Self-management activists are often people who first have to learn to play their new role. Sometimes the self-management bodies are a mouthpiece of the management and sometimes form an alliance with the trade unions. In either case, they do not fulfill their statutory role. In a word, we are dealing with a live social process. You cannot expect that everything will be going according to the book at once.

A new reality is emerging and one thing we know about it for sure is that we have imparted a certain legal shape to it and that it will have to undergo a test of practice. When we were preparing the reform, we were aware of some negative features of the Yugoslav experience and we took precautions against repeating it. We also knew that such a form of workforce activation was necessary in a socialist economy. This is how the game started--the rest, I think, is still ahead of us.

Question: Is it true that the reform will start in earnest only when the market begins to function?

Answer: The reform started in earnest earlier. It is a process which consists in the fact that in concrete conditions we adopt a certain program of action which we implement in such a way as to make it fit the existing conditions. Therefore, next to the final arrangements we also apply many ones of a transitional nature which are clearly due for replacement when the conditions permit it. We are gradually broadening the scope of the use of market instruments.

Question: Will the beginning of market economy be tantamount to the introduction of competition of a capitalist type?

Answer: This is a complete misunderstanding. The cornerstone of the reform is and will remain central planning, which defines the whole strategy of socioeconomic development. The autonomy of enterprises as the second pillar of the reform is understood as autonomy within the limits defined by the central plan. The main problem of the reform consists in matching the two foundations of the reform through a current economic policy. Not for a second would I think about a system in which everything would be decided by a free-competition market of 19th-century capitalism. This would be totally absurd. If anybody ascribes such intentions to our reform, it means he did not study its essence at all.

Question: The present ruling team has inherited some material facts: foreign debt, an overextended investment program and an ecological disaster. It appears that with regard to debt repayment we are hiding our head in the sand, the investment program is defended by powerful lobbies which prevent the performance of a restructuring maneuver while the environment is an accumulation of negligence which surpasses the financial capacity of the state.

Answer: As for the head in the sand, I think this applies more to investments than to foreign debt. The only way the debt problem can be solved is through negotiating a long-term agreement with the creditors regarding debt servicing, the rescheduling techniques, interest rates, etc. This problem is

determined in a great measure by the U.S. policy toward Poland, which amounts to stifling our economy. Even so, our economic situation is improving, which brings closer the prospect of arriving at an appropriate agreement.

As for investments, the situation is more complicated. The serious burden of unfinished projects inherited from the past confronts us with the necessity of choosing between a number of variants, none of which is good. It is very difficult to give up the completion of most of the projects because the economy needs them. Once we assume that we cannot afford to drop them altogether or keep them in mothballs, then there are only three options left: either to reduce outlays on the so-called nonproductive investment projects, e.g., housing, hospitals, schools and environmental protection--which is out of the question in view of the needs and many years' neglect in these domains, or we can limit the investing financed by enterprises, i.e., retooling programs which serve to arrest the process of physical depreciation of capital assets (which should neither be done because there was a lack of a proper use of fixed assets over the years and there is plenty of deferred demand in this respect), or, finally, we can limit consumption, but I do not have to explain to you that this is not a path along which we could advance these days.

Question: Poland's economy has an improper structure, dominated by the heavy industry, mining and other raw materials industries. This structure has got to be changed, especially through intensive investment in high-tech industries. If we invest in the overextended investment program we shall not make this maneuver and shall be doomed to technological backwardness.

Answer: I presume that what we are talking about is the biggest problem the Polish economy is facing now and will keep facing over the next few years. For this reason it is dangerous to bury the head in the sand and stick to some worn-out cliches. However, this goes far beyond the scope of problems related to the economic reform. The future of the economy--and of the reform, too, depends on how we manage to solve these problems. Of course, within the framework of reform we introduce various instruments encouraging the restructuring of the economy. This goal is served by government orders, the bans on the production of some products characterized by excessive unit consumption of energy and materials.

Question: How do you appraise the efficiency and speed of these changes? Some people are talking about a civilizational drama that the future generations of Poles might face.

Answer: I do not think it is a good idea to be too scared of the future. There are many disturbing or even alarming phenomena but certainly the only sensible approach is to act, not to give way to fear. I think we are proceeding in the right direction when we are doing the things we are doing. However, are we advancing fast enough? There is always the dilemma whether evolution is better than revolution. My answer is this: Where there are no antagonistic contradictions, it is necessary to opt for evolution as long as possible.

Question: Some critics say the reform has become an art for art's sake, that it has no vision of the future. You said the Bureau for the Economic Reform is a temporary creation. When do you think it will be possible to wind it down?

Answer: What do you mean it has no vision of the future? The reform itself is such a vision as it is a manifestation of action in favor of a clearly defined future, a social activity, and not only the work of the government minister for the reform and his staff. The process of reforming the economy will continue as an integral part of development processes. The Office of the Minister does not have to exist for this to take place. When everything gets on the right track, there will be no need for specialized staff looking after the defense of the principles of the reform. I hope this will take place soon.

Indeed, you can come across the view that the reform has become an end in itself. Recently somebody offered the view that it is not necessary to defend the reform, while it is necessary to defend the economy. It would be hard to come up with a more misconceived and harmful idea. The reform is an instrument serving the defense of the economy and it cannot be viewed differently than that.

Art for art's sake? Only somebody who does not understand the nature of the process of system changes could say that. Such a person could easily claim that something has already proved its worth or worthlessness. Meanwhile, among the thousands of Polish enterprises there are many in which the reform has worked and many others in which hardly anything has changed, because in one enterprise the people are active and in the other they are passive. The latter are, of course, complaining.

Question: But that taxi driver needs a vision, he wants you to reassure him that at such and such date he can expect to get a flat.

Answer: What he needs is not a vision but a flat and a thousand more things. After all, it so happens that people do not remember the bad things. Today nobody thinks about the shape of the market in 1981 and 99 percent of the people do not stop to think how much the situation has improved since. However, everybody keeps complaining that this thing or that is missing, and he is right. In absolute terms, things are still bad, while in relative terms there has been a great improvement. To some extent, people will always be dissatisfied and the point is to make sure that this is creative dissatisfaction.

The question of measuring the degree of satisfaction of society in practice boils down to the level of prices. This was most aptly summed up by a Norwegian professor, who said that for him the only reliable yardstick of economic performance was the sight of smiling people in the street.

Question: You have provoked me and I have to reach for the variants of the conception of the National Socioeconomic Plan up to 1985 and the preliminary assumptions for the years 1986-1990. The reform is the tool with the help of

which these plans are going to be implemented. The documents envisage "a maximum possible satisfaction of the housing needs and the development of the infrastructure in towns and housing estates permitted by the projected economic situation." On this principle it is possible to make any plan for any period. I understand that it is natural to be dissatisfied with what has already been achieved, but what when the plans do not put the government under any obligation and the declarations are as misty as these?

Answer: You cannot summarize a plan by quoting a selected general sentence taken from the introduction. The plan is made up of concrete tasks but I am not here to relate them. I shall only say that economics is a sad science, one that has to do with difficult situations, ailments and not very promising conditions. The sadness follows from the fact that it is impossible to predict responsibly a fast attainment of high indices of social prosperity. We can say that at the present model, from the professional point of view, we should be very happy that on the global scale, with regard to the general production level, we are approaching the level from before the crisis.

The positive attainments are taken for granted while the neglect must be slowly overcome. In what I say there is no glittering prospect for the future that would fully mobilize people. It would be nice to be able to tell the people that we shall resolve these problems in a matter of a year or 3. But that would be irresponsible. We must not scare the people by the future because after all our crisis is taking place at a relatively high level of material existence, but you must not lie to the people all the same. In countries where there are rival political parties it is commonplace to come up with demagogic promises which are not fulfilled afterwards. But do not come to me to deliver demagogic promises, please.

CSO: 2600/142



SCINTEIA ON TIES WITH COMMUNIST PARTIES

AU072008 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1850 GMT 7 Nov 84

[AGERPRES Headline--"Broad Collaboration and Solidarity Ties with Communist and Worker Parties, with Democratic and Progressive Forces of the Present Day World"]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 7 November 84--The 7 November issue of SCINTEIA newspaper carried an article titled as above, run in the series devoted to Romania's foreign policy in between the 12th and 13th Congresses of the RCP. The article reads among other things:

In between the 12th Congress and the forthcoming 13th Congress of the RCP, the Romanian Communist Party's activity has further unfolded under the sign of continuity in promoting the cause of the unity of action and collaboration of communist and worker parties, of all democratic and progressive political-social forces of the present-day world.

The RCP has constantly underscored the indissoluble link between the interests of these forces' unity and each one's internal unity and cohesion, as any instance or tendency of internal scission bears down on the cause of international unity.

The unity of democratic, progressive parties and forces advocated by the RCP is a new-type, superior unity, corresponding to the conditions of the present-day world. Central in the consolidation of unitary ties is the principle of each party's and each political group's autonomy in working out its revolutionary tactics and strategy, in its activity as a whole. In the outlook of the RCP, each party has both the right and the obligation toward the working class and its own people to self-standingly work out its political line, starting from their foremost interests and aspirations, from the specific conditions in which it carries out its activity. Highlighting the particular importance of a creative approach to each country's specific realities the RCP general secretary assessed the creative application of scientific socialism, of the advanced, revolutionary thinking to those realities as one of the prerequisites for unity.

Moreover, the RCP emphasizes that in order to strengthen the unity and collaboration of all society's advanced forces it is of paramount importance to strictly observe the principle of all parties' fully equal rights, as a warrant

of the translation into fact of the principle of each party's independence and full autonomy. Naturally, the principles of autonomy and equal rights necessarily imply the non-interference in other parties' internal affairs, in whatever questions.

In the period elapsed since the 12th Congress, the RCP developed broad relations with other communist and worker parties, with other detachments of the working class, based on these principles, clearly illustrating the correctness of its stances, and at the same time, contributing effectively to the general cause of unity.

This programmatic consistent orientation of the RCP found an eloquent expression in the powerful development of its friendly ties with the world's communist and worker parties. Of course, priority was given to deepening friendly and collaboration bonds with communist and worker parties in the countries that are also building the new system, as experience has taught that these ties are decisive in the consolidation of friendship and the expansion of manysided cooperation between socialist countries, to mutual benefit, in the interest of continually enhancing the prestige and influence of socialism in the world. Furthermore, the RCP has also developed its relations with communist and worker parties in all the other countries, that is with parties whose struggle for peace, democracy and progress has always found support with the Romanian communists.

Obviously, communist and worker parties carry on their activity in a great variety of historic, economic, social-political and national conditions. And it is but natural that this variety should generate also differences in terms of specific tasks and objectives, which reflect on a broader plane as different opinions on the approach to or assessment of present-day events and phenomena. Nevertheless, the RCP has always been of the opinion that the emergence of differences of opinions or assessment should never affect party ties of interstate relations, as it is necessary to view them in a principled way, in a spirit of mutual esteem and consideration, searching for and giving pride of place to the factors of unity, the community of foremost interests.

It is one of President Nicolae Ceausescu's principal merits that, based on a scientific, materialist-dialectical analysis of the historic development, of the realities characterizing the present-day world, he worked out the principles of new-type unity as well as a new concept, a new approach to unity and solidarity in our epoch. His is a broad outlook, avoiding short-sightedness or artificial limitations, apt to embrace the development of relations with a wide range of political-social forces--communist and worker parties, socialist and social democratic parties, national liberation movements, progressive parties of developing countries, other democratic political groupings. According to the firm opinion promoted by the RCP also in the period after the 12th Congress the differences of ideology or opinion on some questions extant between communist parties on the one hand and socialist and social democratic parties on the other should not hamper the dialogue, relations of cooperation between them. Starting from the reality that there are many questions of joint interest in the approach and settlement of which communist, socialist and social democratic parties would work in common the RPC general secretary pointed to

the need to overcome mistrust and adversity, to achieve a genuine historic reconciliation which should lead to a new-type unity of the working class, of the forces declaring for socialism.

Expression of the same principled orientation, the RCP has expanded its relations of cooperation and solidarity with a large number of ruling parties and democratic, progressive organizations of newly independent states, virtually of all developing and non-aligned states in Africa, Asia, Latin America. Attaching great importance to the relations between Romania and these states the RCP grants its support to the respective ruling parties to eradicate underdevelopment, bridge economic gaps, work alongside them for a new international economic order.

Likewise, the RCP consistently manifests its solidarity with the peoples that have not won their independence yet, that fight against imperialist and colonialist domination, apartheid and racial discrimination, develops close relations of cooperation with national liberation movements.

Promoting such an open policy the RCP has always been inspired by the belief that peace, independence and progress depend now more than ever before on the mobilization of the broadest forces of the peoples throughout the world.

CSO: 2020/20

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES CREDENTIALS OF TURKISH ENVOY

AU121945 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1749 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 12 November 1984--President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, received, on 12 November, Sureyya Yuksel [spelling as received], who presented his credentials as ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey in Bucharest.

During the ceremony an exchange of messages of salute took place between the Romanian and Turkish heads of state.

In the ambassador's address, President Nicolae Ceausescu's visit to Turkey and President Kenan Evren's visit to Romania are highly assessed as they have considerably contributed to the development of the relations between the two countries and peoples. Stress is also laid on the large possibilities for a broad and balanced cooperation to the benefit of both countries.

Emphasis is also placed in the address on the conditions for a broad collaboration between Romania and Turkey in the international life, so as to make a greater contribution to the cause of international peace, collaboration and understanding, to a constructive settlement of the major problems facing mankind.

Satisfaction is expressed in Romania's president's address or reply at the evolution of the relations of cooperation and cooperation between Romania and Turkey, which develop in keeping with summit accords and understandings, in the two countries' interests. Stress is also laid on the favourable prospects for the expansion and diversification of economic cooperation, for the growth of the trade exchanges, and for the intensification of relations in education, science and culture.

The address also shows that given the current highly complex and serious international situation, Romania works for the cessation of the arms race and a passage to tangible disarmament measures, to nuclear disarmament first of all, for the establishment of a climate of detente, security and peace, for a peaceful settlement of litigious problems among states through political negotiations, for the eradication of underdevelopment and the establishment of a new international economic order.

SOVIET-ROMANIAN FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION ANNIVERSARY

Friendship, Cooperation Cited

AU151520 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 Nov 84 p 5

[Article by Al Campeanu: "Under the Sign of Friendship and Cooperation"]

[Text] Forty years have elapsed since the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association was founded. Upon RCP initiative, on 12 November 1944 a group of public, scientific, and cultural figures in our country decided to set up this organization of a civic nature and designed to publicize the successes registered by the working people in the neighboring socialist country in developing the economy, science, and culture, in building the new system, and designed to contribute to strengthening the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Romanian people and the peoples in the USSR.

The creation of the association was part and parcel of the traditions of militant solidarity of the workers movement in Romania and of the RCP with the party created by Lenin and with the first workers and peasant state. These traditions were clearly reflected in the enthusiasm with which the proletariat in Romania hailed the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in the participation--arms in hand--by numerous Romanian militants in the struggle to defend the young Soviet power during the years of the civil war and the imperialist intervention, and it is reflected in the consistency with which our party has struggled--from the very moment of its creation--for friendship with the Soviet Union and for publicizing in our country the achievements attained by the Soviet people.

The activity carried out by the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association has been part and parcel of the activity carried out by the RCP in the wake of the historic event of 23 August 1944 to constantly enrich relations of cooperation between Romania and the USSR--elevated onto a qualitatively new and higher level in the years of building the new system. During the timespan since its creation, the association's activity has reflected--in specific forms--the foreign policy promoted by Socialist Romania which, in giving priority to developing cooperation with all the socialist countries, and primarily with the neighboring socialist countries, attaches particular importance to strengthening friendship and many-sided cooperation with the Soviet Union. This constant orientation is given concrete shape, as is known, in constantly expanding friendly cooperation in various areas of socialist construction, in the international arena, and in the struggle for detente, peace, and progress.

The constant upward evolution of Romanian-Soviet relations clearly stresses the decisive role played by ties of friendship between the RCP and the CPSU and, within this framework, the particular importance of the summit meetings and talks. An event of great significance in this respect were the meeting and talks in June this year between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, the fruitful results of which mark a new and valuable contribution to developing mutually advantageous cooperation between our countries, parties, and peoples.

Economic relations are constantly expanding and diversifying; the Soviet Union constantly ranks first in the overall foreign economic relations promoted by our country. Relations in such fields as science, culture, and art are also expanding, as is the exchange of experience at party and state level, and in various areas of building the new system.

Within the general context of developing relations between the two countries and peoples, an important contribution is made by the numerous institutions and civic organizations which are carrying out extensive activity to promote better mutual knowledge; in this respect an important role is played by the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association. Acting under the direct leadership of the party and enjoying wide and active public support, and incorporating people of all professions, the association has carried out comprehensive and fruitful activity during the 4 decades of its existence to strengthen friendship and cooperation between the Romanian peoples and the Soviet peoples.

The activity carried out by the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association is taking place on the basis of the cooperation program concluded with the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association that is operating in the USSR. In the spirit of the provisions of the current 5-year program (1981-1985), numerous actions have taken place in our country and in the Soviet Union aimed at a better mutual understanding of the achievements and concerns of the two peoples and at strengthening friendship between them. The important achievements attained by Romania and the Soviet Union in building the new system ensure more and more favorable material preconditions to expand and deepen Romanian-Soviet fruitful cooperation, and a lasting friendship between our peoples.

On the 40th anniversary of the creation of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association, public opinion in our country and the Romanian people reiterate their feelings of esteem and appreciation for the peoples in the USSR, and express their conviction that our relations of mansided cooperation will constantly develop to their mutual benefit and the general cause of socialism and peace.

#### Meeting in Moscow

AU151147 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 14 Nov 84 p 6

[Text] A festive meeting took place on 13 November at the Moscow House of Peoples' Friendship devoted to the 40th anniversary of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association (SRFA). The meeting was attended by V. I. Konotop, first secretary of the Moscow Oblast CPSU Committee and SRFA chairman, and representatives of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Members of our country's embassy in Moscow were also present.

In speeches made on this occasion, the speakers pointed out the great successes attained by our people, under the leadership of the RCP, in building the comprehensively developed socialist society; they also emphasized the outstanding results with which the Romanian working people and all our people are meeting the 13th RCP Congress and the joint desire to develop, deepen, and diversify the relations of friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the two countries.

The speakers stressed the decisive role played by the talks and agreements reached during the meeting between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and Comrade Konstantin Chernenko, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, for further developing all-round relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and the USSR and between the Romanian people and the Soviet peoples.

The speakers also highlighted the role of the Soviet-Romanian and Romanian-Soviet Friendship Associations in promoting relations of friendship between the two countries and peoples.

#### Meeting in Bucharest

AU191002 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Nov 84 p 5

[Text] On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the constitution of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association, the USSR ambassador in Bucharest, Y. M. Tyazhelnikov organized a friendly meeting at the Soviet Embassy, on 15 November. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs leadership, members of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association leadership, representatives of some ministries and cultural institutes, and of civic organizations.

CSO: 2700/42

## WEEKLY LUMEA ON POLISH PRIEST KIDNAPPING

AU072214 [Editorial Report] Bucharest LUMEA No 45 in Romanian of 1 November carries on page 14 a 700-word unattributed item entitled "Warsaw; Declarations Concerning a Case of Kidnapping," citing the Polish television declarations of government spokesman Jerzy Urban and of the Polish minister of internal affairs, Czeslaw Kiszczak. According to Jerzy Urban, LUMEA writes, "The kidnapping is a political provocation and the Polish government condemns the methods of political banditry." General Czeslaw Kiszczak is quoted as stating "those who are guilty of Father J. Popieluszko's kidnapping have been quickly discovered and arrested. With deep regret I note that they are three young workers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs." The minister is quoted as explaining that two of the kidnappers assert "they had carried out their superior's orders with good intentions: while the "organizer of the kidnapping" had said his act was determined by Popieluszko's "instigating political activity."

The minister is quoted as stating that: "Father Popieluszko's kidnapping has nothing in common with the way our party solves political conflicts. On the contrary, the aim of this unprecedented kidnapping was to endanger the policy of understanding, the trend of renewal, and thus, socialist Poland. The truth, no matter how bitter it is, cannot be hidden. But it cannot be manipulated either. From an individual case one must not draw generalizing conclusions which lack foundation."

The item further cites some of the PZPR Central Committee statements according to which "Poland can be only a country of legality. Diversion, provocation, and terror are completely at variance with the Leninist ideology." The item cites the Central Committee's call to the whole of Polish society "to act with great determination against Poland's enemies who want to derive advantage from a provocative crime."

The LUMEA item concludes by stating that Father J. Popieluszko's body was found in the Vistula Reservoir and that an investigation is being made to find out the "instigators" of the crime.

CSO: 2700/40



## LUMEA ON HAVANA CEMA SESSION

AU130954 [Editorial Report] Bucharest LUMEA No 46 of 8 November 1984 carries on pages 7 and 8 a 2,200-word unattributed article on the recent 39th CEMA session held in Havana 29-31 October entitled: "In the Interest of Elevating Mutually Advantageous Cooperation to a Higher Level." In outlining the speech delivered by Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu at the Havana CEMA session, the item stresses "in reiterating our country's basic and constant orientation regarding its more and more active participation in the world economic flow, the prime minister of the Romanian Government emphasized, among other things, Romania's consistent action--within this framework--to expand trade exchanges.

With the CEMA member-countries, from this point of view, the volume of those exchanges--both with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA member countries--does not fully reflect the real possibilities of their national economies. In light of this, our country believes that it is necessary--within the framework of plan coordination--to continue efforts in preparing long-term trade agreements, too, to agree upon larger volumes of mutual deliveries."

Constantin Dascalescu is also quoted as having stressed that "despite all efforts, Romania has not been able to secure the required fuel, energy, and raw materials from domestic sources alone. Advocating a large participation in making use of the energy and raw material resources in the CEMA member-countries possessing such resources, primarily the USSR, Romania believes that in this respect the conclusion of a general long-term convention would be necessary in the field of fuels, energy, and raw materials." He is also cited as saying that "Romania has asserted its readiness to participate in investments made by the countries on whose territories joint projects are being built in this field."

The item also stresses that in discussing the international situation, the CEMA session emphasized the need to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament. Within this context, it stresses that "it is Romania's and President Nicolae Ceausescu's firm belief that it is the socialist countries' mission and duty to be among the front ranks in the struggle for peace and disarmament, for resuming and strengthening the policy of detente, security, cooperation, and understanding among nations, and for achieving a better and more just world."

## RECEPTION MARKS ELENA CEAUSESCU PUBLICATIONS

AU251025 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 22 Oct 84

[Excerpts] Beijing, (AGERPRES) 22 October 1984--Confirmation of the high appreciation and unanimous interest in the scientific activity carried on by Acad Elena Ceausescu, D. Sc. prominent scientific and political personality of the contemporary world, the well-known monographs "The Stereospecific Polymerization of Isoprene" and "New Researches on Macromolecular Compounds" were put out in Beijing under the aegis of the Academy of Science of China. In the friendly country, the publication of these two volumes is seen as a great event in publishing which, through this valuable scientific oeuvre, opens new prospects to a highly [?tiopical] domain as well as to the mutually advantageous cooperation between the Romanian and Chinese peoples.

In the foreword to the editions in Chinese, Acad Lu Jiami, president of the Academy of Science of China, underlines the profound character and density of the scientific and technologic information in the two volumes, the great theoretical and applicative value of the exhaustive research made by the author among the years.

The Chinese scientist points out that the publication of the books in Chinese is another expression of the friendship between the Chinese and Romanian peoples, an outstanding and festive event within the Sino-Romanian scientific relations.

In conclusion, Acad Lu Jiaxi underscores that in synthetic rubber as well as in other domains, the technico-scientific cooperation and relations between Chinese and Romanian experts has large prospects.

In marking the publication in Chinese of these scientific books, a festivity took place at the Romanian Embassy in Beijing, attended by Lu Jiaxi, president of the Academy of Sciences of China, Luo Giang, vice-president of the National Women's Federation of China, Hu Yongchang, deputy secretary-general of the Academy of Science, Liang Keng, vice-chairman of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries, Chen Shuliang, vice-chairman of the China-Romanian Friendship Association, directors of research institutes of the Sinica Academy, men of science, professors, representatives of the foreign relations section of the CC of the Chinese Communist Party, of ministries, institutions and leading publications.

On that occasion, Adad Lu Jianxi, an internationally reputed expert in chemistry, pointed out that the translation into Chinese of the two scientific books was an outstanding event in the history of the Chinese-Romanian technical and scientific exchanges.

Chinese scientists rejoice over the outstanding successes scored by science in Romania, by its decisive role in the activity of directly supporting the fast and independent development of the national economy.

The scientists in China and Romania, he said, work steadily for increasing the role of science in the struggle for peace and progress the world over. We assess in particular the activity of Acad Elena Ceausescu D. Sc. as a prominent campaigner of the world movement of scientists for peace.

The festivity was also addressed by the director of the Chemical Research Institute of the Sinica Academy, the deputy secretary-general of the Hu N Yonqchang Academy of Sciences, Shi Lianghe, director of the Institute of Chemistry of the academy, Kang Daisha, member of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Council, other participants.

CSO: 2020/20

## BRIEFS

ARMY DAY COMMEMORATIONS--Bucharest, AGERPRES 25 October 1984--On the Day of the Army of the Socialist Republic of Romania, floral wreaths were laid at the Memorial of the Homeland's Heroes and the "Ghencea" Military Cemetery on behalf of the Ministry of National Defence and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, of local party and state bodies as well as on behalf of the antifascist fighters and war veterans committee. The ceremonies were attended by Col-Gen Vasile Milea. First deputy minister of national defence and chief of staff, Lt-Gen Ilie Ceausescu, deputy minister of national defence, secretary of the higher Political Council of the army, Lt-Gen Constantin Nuta and Dima Romus, deputy ministers of internal affairs, representatives of local party and state bodies, active and reserve generals, officers, and young pioneers. Floral wreaths were also laid at the Soviet Heroes Memorial on behalf of the Ministry of National Defence, local party and state bodies, and the Antifascist Fighters and War Veterans Committee. Marking the same event, floral wreaths and garlands were laid at the cemeteries and the memorials of Romanian heroes and Soviet soldiers who died in the antifascist war. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1916 GMT 25 Oct 84 AU]

SED AKTIVISTS SHIP VISITS HARBOR--Bucharest AGERPRES 5 November 1984--The Voelkerfreundschaft motor ship sailing under GDR flag cast anchor on 5 November in the morning in Constanta port, carrying on board 474 passengers: party activists of the SUPG, veterans of the working-class movement of the German Democratic Republic, who make a friendship visit in ports of socialist countries. The guests were welcomed by representatives of the local party and state bodies. Members of the Bucharest Embassy of the GDR were present. The guests toured cultural establishments in Constanta, the tourist resorts on the Romanian Black Sea coast, the Murfatlar State Agricultural Enterprise, and watched a Romanian folk dance and song show. A group of activists, headed by Jahn Gunther, member of the CC of the SUPG, first secretary of the Potsdam Region Party Committee, had an interview with Nicolae Mihalache, member of the CC of the RCP, first secretary of the RCP County Committee. The motor ship left Constanta the same evening. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1922 GMT 5 Nov 84 AU]

GOSR ANNIVERSARY--Bucharest AGERPRES 7 November 1984--As part of the events marking the completion of 67 years since the Great October Socialist Revolution, a festive meeting took place on 7 November in Braila, participated in by local working people, representatives of the local party and state bodies and

mass and public organizations. Members of the Bucharest embassy of the Soviet Union and of the visiting delegation of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association were present. Alexandru Gangu, director of the Heavy-Equipment Enterprise of Braila, and L.N. Riamzin [spelling as received] deputy minister of river fleet of the Russian SFSR, vice-chairman of the Central Leadership of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association, spoke about the importance of the celebrated event. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1952 GMT 7 Nov 84 AU]

COMMISSION OPENS IN BUCHAREST--Bucharest AGERPRES 8 November 1984--The proceedings of the fourth session of Joint Romanian-EEC Commission started in Bucharest on 8 November. The Romanian delegation is led by Vasile Pungan, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and the EEC delegation by Wilhelm Haferkamp, vice-president of the EEC Commission. The two delegations survey the stage of the economic relations between Romania and EEC member countries, the way in which commercial exchanges proceed between the two parties on the basis of the agreements concluded, and will set new ways and modalities of expanding and diversifying cooperation and the structure of economic exchanges. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1812 GMT 8 Nov 84 AU]

RCP's BUCUR RECEIVED--Bogota AGERPRES 9 November 1984--Best wishes of good health and happiness were conveyed to Gilberto Vierra, general secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Colombia from the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceausescu, alongside wishes of full success to the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Colombia. Expressing warm thanks, Gilberto Vierra asked that heartfelt greetings and wishes of good health and happiness, of further major RCP successes be conveyed to Nicolae Ceausescu as well as wishes of prosperity to the Romanian people. These messages were exchanged in Bogota when Gilberto Vierra received Ion Bucur, member of the CC of the RCP, who represented the Romanian Communist Party at the 14th Congress of the Communist Party of Colombia. A salute from the Romanian Communist Party, from its general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu, was delivered to the congress plenum of the RCP representative. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1322 GMT 9 Nov 84 AU]

CEAUSESCU RECEIVES ICELAND ENVOY--Bucharest, AGERPRES 12 November 1984--On Monday, 12 November, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Haraldur Kroyer, ambassador of the Republic of Iceland in Bucharest, who paid a farewell call on ending his mission in Bucharest. On the occasion, a talk was held, which passed in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1748 GMT 12 Nov 84 AU]

CSO: 2020/20

PRC ATTEMPT AT ECONOMIC REFORM VIEWED

AU242140 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Oct 84 p 2

[Commentary by Dragoslav Rancic: "The Chinese Road"]

[Excerpts] China has firmly announced that its socialism will not be just a distribution of poverty and strict state coercion according to the inherited Stalinist model, but rather a society that takes into consideration commodity production, the producers' initiative, competitiveness on the market, and the objective economic laws.

This decision of the CPC Central Committee, although it refers only to the economy, is basically one of the boldest ideological and political moves in the reform of Chinese socialism in the 35 years of its existence.

In the search for its own road to socialism China has been guided by a specific trait of its armed revolution. Just as at one time villages were liberated so that, following this, towns would be besieged, thus also the economic reform has first begun to liberate peasants from the inheritance of a forced collectivization only to be later, after the summing up of successes, directed at the state economy in the towns.

China has entered a great and complex undertaking, and such undertakings are not without risks. The application of the law of value means, among other things, a reduction of the gap in the prices between industrial and agricultural products. In practice this means that 800 million peasants must be paid more for their work. At present the state subsidizes the purchase prices of agricultural products by a sum exceeding a quarter of its budget. This calls for the need to establish economic prices, both of agricultural and industrial products. And the establishment of economic prices is one of the most complex problems in a socialist economy, in general. In a country with low pay and large state subsidies this also means an unavoidable increase in the cost of daily life, the creation of greater social and regional differences, the closing of uneconomic enterprises, higher inflation, and many other things.

However, this is a great Chinese settling of accounts with the inherited economic dogmas. As they have concluded, by opening the country to the world, that there can be no progress and modernization in isolation, thus now, with

the reform of the economy's structure, the Chinese have concluded that there can be no socialism either without full respect for human work.

There exists a great difference between the prototype of a central planned economy and the concepts that take into consideration the functioning of market laws. The first system is inclined to idealize itself--something that China has experienced well in its own example--while the second system is inclined to dynamically perfect itself and compare itself with other systems. With a great critical attitude China has assessed what it wants to change. The boldness of this orientation is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that China has over 1 billion people and that it has only recently succeeded in freeing itself from the belief that even the most ordinary village market is a "deviation into capitalist waters." Today, China speaks about the danger that every plan means a deviation from reality if it neglects the market.

CSO: 2800/78

## CATHOLIC WEEKLY PROTESTS CAMPAIGN AGAINST PRIESTS

[Editorial Report] Editorials in the 14 October 1984 issue of the Zagreb Catholic weekly GLAS KONCILA (pages 2 and 6) protest numerous press articles since 1 August 1984 which seek to blame the teaching of local priests for the fact that young people sang songs of "hostile content" in the Hercegovina town of Donji Brisnik near Duvno the night of July 30 and August 1, 1984. Articles in the Sarajevo youth paper NASI DANI, in DANAS (Zagreb), and many others, according to the editorials, shift blame from the youth to three members of the Franciscan clergy, Jozo Zovko, Jozo Krizic, and Ante Perkovic, who are named as the real culprits for "having educated youth in this way during religious instruction." GLAS KONCILA notes that the press failed to report that the songs praised Pavelic, Jesus, and Croatianism, thus implying they were all politically hostile. The editorials call for "open and wise cooperation by all those responsible...so that this Catholic area in Bosnia-Hercegovina will not become a potentially sore point with dangerous surprises"...especially at a time when believers in Croatia, with the Jasenovac and Marija Bistrica celebrations, have shown the real bases for a peaceful and creative co-existence with peoples of different beliefs and nationality."

In addition, GLAS KONCILA reports that on 3 October its editor personally complained to the Duvno Opstina LC Committee over an unsigned mimeographed "report on the negative occurrences in Donji Brisnik" which was sent to GLAS KONCILA (as it turned out, by the Duvno Opstina LC Committee), and protested that the priests were being treated like "common criminals" and being convicted without trial.

GLAS KONCILA also published on page 2, a 29 September 1984 protest signed by 18 Franciscans of the Duvno vicarage and sent to the Bishops Conference, Cardinal Kuharic, the Papal Nuncio in Belgrade, the Duvno SAWP presidium, the Duvno Socialist Youth League, the Duvno Opstina LD, and the editorial boards of publications which carried critical reports, among others.

The protest says that none of the church officials from their area were in any way linked to the event reported, that the signers decisively reject the incriminating statement that the priests were the moral instigators of such songs, and that those accused as enemies of this society or criminals have the right to seek legal protection from slander. It says that no member of their clergy has ever propagated fascist or nazi ideas. "If the sources



and initiators of these alleged nazi demonstrations are found, it will be clear that the church has no connection with them, making impossible all such provocative confusion which damages peaceful and creative co-existence that is so necessary for us all."

The 21 October issue of GLAS KONCILA (page 2) subsequently reports (but considers inadequate) a 14 October VJESNIK article which appears to soften the criticism, in response to GLAD KONCILA's vigorous protests: "It is obvious," VJESNIK is quoted as saying, "that one must analyze the real extent of hostile attitudes in that area and establish the reasons why young people born in the 1960's have embraced these attitudes; it is clear that the reasons cannot be reduced to three Franciscans or even to all 18...."

One of the three, Father Jozo Krizic, was sentenced on 20 September 1984 to 60 days in jail for statements made at a saint's day celebration in a small town on 20 July. According to GLAS KONCILA, the indictment declared that "Father Krizic said, 'Today we celebrate a person who lived on this earth... and still lives today, while numerous rulers, presidents, czars who have been cheered have left behind them only something they did; they die, disappear, and when one leaves their graves they become less and less famous and one day are completely unknown. These are people who have lived for their own interest and when they disappeared, their fame also disappeared.... One should not seek false gods and turn as the wind blows, one should remain constant in prayer to find the real light and with it to overcome the burden and difficulties of this system.... God is on the side of our youth....' In citing NIN's question on how Cardinal Kuharic could gather together 7,000 young people, Krizic quoted an old Duvno regional saying, 'Sheep do not go to an empty feedbag,' adding that the church and God offer eternal life, that youth know this and follow God and not those who deceive or who say one thing but do not bring it about....' He asked that Croatia children be taught to follow the real God and not to sit on two chairs, to renounce the devil and false ideologies...."

CSO: 2800/90

## BORBA CONCLUDES SERIES ON CONFEDERATION, DEFENDS IT

AU091429 [Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian from 23 through 26 October on page 5 carries further installments, from the 10th to the 13th and last, each one of about 2,000 words, of excerpts from Dr Jovan Miric's book "System and Crisis." The weekend issue on 27/28 October also on page 5 carries, as a 14th installment, a 1,600-word excerpt from reviews written on the book. BORBA of 26 October also carries on page 3 a 350-word report on the session of the Council of Vojvodina and on a speech by Marko Djuricin who criticises BORBA for carrying excerpts of the book.

In the 10th and 11th installments, Miric continues to analyse the issue of national sovereignty and national economy which he calls the "economy of a fee," which according to him means that "it is also another name for politically directed economy."

The 12th and 13th installments deal with the concept of "Tito's Yugoslavia" and amply quote Tito on the national issue in Yugoslavia.

The 13th installment is followed by a 500-word BORBA editorial note explaining that the selection of excerpts was made, in agreement with the author and the publishers, solely from the first part of the book entitled "Yugoslav Federalism and Intranational Relations--Some Topical Aspects." BORBA realized that the "public interest and therefore, contradictory opinions as well" provoked by the texts are due to the topicality of the subject. The note further says that "Dr Jovan Miric's texts conform to the program principles of the activity of the SAWP, according to which BORBA, as its organ, has to be open for opinions that do not call into question the socialist development of the country" and that the "editorial board thinks that what is involved are exactly that kind of texts."

The weekend issue carries excerpts from the reviews of the book, written by Prof Dr Radovoje Marinkovic and Prof Dr Marinkovic and Prof Dr Tomislav Jantol and these are, according to the introduction, the parts of the reviews which "represent an attitude of the reviewers towards the book." One of the reviewers, Marinkovic, states that the book represents a "lucid and open critical penetration into some key spheres of the concept and functioning of our political system," an "approach Yugoslav science lacks" and stresses the extreme significance of the author's view on the principle of labor. Marinkovic considers the book an "extremely significant contribution

to our political thought and science" and expects it to "provoke dialogue among both those who share the views of its author and especially those who do not share his opinion." The other reviewer, Jantol, warns "that this is the first case of critical analysis which attempts to show that the 1974 constitution is not completely innocent in connection with negative phenomena in intranational relations. Jovan Miric shows that there were sufficient reasons for such an analysis." Jantol states the book is "a brave confrontation of Jovan Miric with urgent topics of our social and political reality" and suggests "that the text be published as soon as possible."

BORBA on 26 October on page 3 carries a 350-word report by Z. O. on the session of the Council of Vojvodina, including a report on a speech by Marko Djuricin, member of the Vojvodina LC Presidium who criticises BORBA for carrying excerpts from Miric's book. It contains, he says, "plenty of illustrations that are supposed to provide 'scientific grounds' for the need for a revision of the constitution and which call into question the highest values won forever by the class struggle and armed revolution," adding that a debate on political system has been approaching and that one should not, in advance, bring into public "such completely unacceptable concepts that create a psychosis and an impression that this task is being undertaken chaotically and without any responsibility."

CSO: 2800/86

YUGOSLAVIA

TANJUG REPORTS FORMAL SESSION MARKING ANTIFASCIST ASSEMBLY

LD130026 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1930 GMT 12 Nov 84

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 12 Nov (TANJUG)--On the 40th anniversary of the convening of the great antifascist National Liberation Assembly of Serbia, the first assembly meeting of the United National Liberation Front of Serbia, the first congress of the Antifascist Youth of Serbia, and the first conference of the Antifascist Front of Women, a formal joint session of the Serbian Assembly, the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference, the Serbian Socialist Youth League Republican Conference, and the Conference for the Social Position and Activity of Women of Serbia was held this evening in the Trade Unions Center in Belgrade.

Zika Radojlovic, president of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference, welcomed those who took part in the historic events of 40 years ago. Among those present were: Radovan Vlackovic, vice-president of the SFRY Presidency; Ali Sukrija, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Dusan Alimpic, president of the SFRY Assembly; Milka Planinc, president of the Federal Executive Council; representatives of the federation's sociopolitical organizations; republican delegations; representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army, headed by chief of the General Staff Petar Gracanin; members of the Council of the Federation; Patriarch German of the Serbian Orthodox Church; representatives of other religious communities; and ambassadors from the USSR, United States, Great Britain, and France.

Dusan Ckrebic, president of the Serbian Presidency, spoke about the 40-year creation and development of the Socialist Republic of Serbia.

Ckrebic stressed that, as in the past, the Socialist Republic of Serbia today sees its prospects exclusively in a strong united Yugoslavia in which, together with the provinces, and indeed as all other republics, it fulfills its full national and state identity and its all-round material, social, and cultural development. In the efforts to build the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a state and self-management community and to strengthen unity and togetherness--along the line of the implementation of the conclusions of the 18th session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia and of the ninth congress of the League of Communists of Serbia--we must consider this as the only correct path both in the implementation of the unified functions of the republic and in ensuring the autonomy of the provinces.

However, we should not neglect and underrate the influence and the activity of the forces which are bothered by, and which do not find it in their heart to like, this self-management and federal Yugoslavia. In fact, at this precise time, efforts are being made by antisocialist and antiself-management forces to belittle and undermine the foundations of what we achieved during the national liberation struggle and during all the 40 years of post-war development. They are trying to subvert and delilitate our constitutional system seeing that they are not in a position to change it in its foundations, most frequently in collusion with foreign people and foreign services and centers which are specialized for destabilization and crude interference in the internal affairs of other countries. They are denying in particular the historic role and responsibility of the League of Communists in the socialist development of our society. These forces have found direct assistants and allies among the nationalists of all complections.

As is known it is with these intentions in mind that the Albanian nationalists and irredentists in Kosovo too have tried to attain their counterrevolutionary objectives, Ckrebic stressed.

Counterrevolutionary attempts, Ckrebic stressed, have indicated the absence of resolute opposition by organized socialist forces over a long period of time, especially by a section of the former Kosovo leadership, expressed not only in underrating and covering up for rampant irredentism and nationalism but also by shutting themselves off bureaucratically from the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY. These events, which rightly alarmed all our working people and citizens, show best where bureaucratic-etatist tendencies of encapsulation of all kinds, toleration of nationalism in one's own nation, bypassing the working class and its interests, and neglect in the building of socialist self-management relations can lead to.

To halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo remains a priority and major task of our overall struggle against Albanian irredentist and nationalist forces. It is of vital and historic importance for the future of Yugoslavia and this struggle must be waged by the communists and progressive people of Albanian nationality and by all other progressive forces of Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia.

CSO: 2800/86

YUGOSLAVIA

MAMULA CONGRATULATES MILITARY INSTITUTE

LD141509 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1150 GMT 14 Nov 84

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Nov (TANJUG)--Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary of national defense, has sent congratulations to the Military Geographical Institute in Belgrade in connection with the 40th anniversary of the work and development of the institute in socialist Yugoslavia. The message of congratulations says:

As an important scientific and technical institution of the Yugoslavi People's Army, the Military Geographical Institute has made a great contribution to safeguarding the Yugoslav Armed Forces by supplying information about geographical space, including its measurements and provision of topographical and other maps required for planning, organization, implementation, and monitoring of combat effects.

Your present success in securing topographical information for our Armed Forces, training of the land survey service cadre, technical modernation of the institution scientific and research work, and cooperation with scientific and professional institutions in our country constitutes a significant contribution not only to the consolidation of our defense capability but also to the general development of an improvement in our country. I am convinced that you will go on investing efforts to consolidate the military professional capability, moral and political firmness, and reputation which your collective enjoys among our Armed Forces and in our society, contributing as it does to the further development of our Armed Forces and security of our socialist, self-management, and nonaligned community.

CSO: 2800/86

## SARAJEVO VETERANS SEND INDEPENDENT PROTEST TO LCY CC

[Editorial Report] Zivko Milic, editor of DANAS, in the 30 October 1984 issue of this Zagreb weekly (pages 10-11), criticizes three recent examples of further straying from acceptable norms; namely, Ljubisa Ristic's statements in the new issue of KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, Jovan Miric's articles on the systemic crisis in BORBA, and a letter drawn up by Sarajevo LC members who were Spanish Civil War veterans. The veterans, without previously informing the LC or its organs, the editorial said, prepared a letter for their congress to be sent to the LCY requesting the convocation of an extraordinary LCY Congress. "The fact that they did not do this within the party organization so that the public learned only afterward about their intentions is strange and disquieting because it testifies to the absence of a closeness which should be the basis of mutual trust by revolutionaries and a revolutionary party. In contrast to this, everything leads to the conclusion that here some matters were hidden.

"Was there not a more suitable way than having a letter announce the initiatives, views, and demands of the Spanish [Civil War] veterans to the LCY Presidium, than having this letter reach...[LCY headquarters] in Belgrade so it was reported in student newspapers and over foreign news agencies.

"The text sent from Sarajevo to the LCY CC bears all the marks of an announcement sent from one's own party and contains, of course, much that the LCY is aware of and what the broadest party membership says and demands. But there are also a few symptomatic tones in it.... Despite the self-management rhetoric, the letter asks that the LC establish continuity with the Yugoslav Communist Party. What does this mean? Does this bring into question the complete balance of the self-management development achieved since the 8th LCY Congress? Here is a further accent which seeks a wider area for articulation and the consideration of oppositional views. But the veterans sharpen their negative and critical view toward the LCY leadership and demand its responsibility. Finally, there is also an invitation to hold an extraordinary LCY Congress which suggests that the 80-some veterans in Sarajevo had their own concept for solving the present crisis which is not very close to that formulated by the LCY CC. On what forces does this Sarajevo concept rely?

"The future will show the meaning of this episode, but the assessment cannot be avoided that the association of trusted revolutionaries at present has appeared as a club, critically inclined and parallel to the LCY, which considers its views and judgments competitive, even superior to those of its own revolutionary LC and its legal leadership..."

SLOVENIAN YOUTH LEAGUE DISPUTES LC INTERFERENCE, ARMY CONCEPT

Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 6 Nov 84 p 24

[Excerpts] In the last few weeks there has been a flood of resignations from the leadership of the Slovenian youth organization. The presidium of the republic conference of the Slovenian Socialist Youth League (SSO) confirmed that "big mistakes" had been made, so it is not a question of something unexpected....

At a recent discussion in the Socialist Alliance of this republic the youth leadership was called a center of "radicalism," "demagogy," and "pessimism." It was stressed that the mistakes of the youth organization had continued since...its last congress in 1982 in Novo Mesto when the broadest front for independence in decisionmaking was stressed more than ever. Such an orientation in itself is not disputable..., because, at least verbally, the strengthening of the...young generation has been in operation. But, in the opinion of Franc Setinc, president of the Slovenian SAWP Conference, "the youth organization has made many overall attacks on the political system and its institutions since then." Setinc further said that such general criticism not based on argument can only have the opposite effect [to that intended], can only weaken the progressive forces in the struggle against deformations in the system."

The present unenviable situation within the youth organization leadership started, it seems, with a communique sent from the Slovenian LC CC Presidium to inter-opstina LC councils which asked them to monitor the registering of candidates for the SSO organs on the republic and federal levels. Youth functionaries, in accord with a discussion at their political school in Maribor, described this "confidential" communique as "inadmissible interference by the LC into SSO cadre policy" and a "threat of its independence." They clearly conveyed the message that they do not accept the statement by the party leadership that "in the past in certain opstinas, also in the republic, there has been criticism that some cadre decisions have been made without adequate coordination or consideration."

A sharp polemic developed around all of this in the Slovenian edition of KOMUNIST and a meeting was held with the [SSO] functionaries of the opstinas and areas concerned at which it was confirmed that everyone had not agreed on the qualities of some of the suggested candidates but that this had not had any effect on reducing the number [of candidates] registered. Thus, Ivan Godec, executive secretary of the Slovenian LC CC Presidium, mentioned that the youth leaders advocated "some illusory independence of the youth organization," i.e., that they are fighting for



their viewpoints at any price, so they are not for a democratic dialogue within the SAWP. Some of them have leadership ambitions, Godec says, so they are proclaiming themselves the "absolute representatives of the youth of Slovenia."

In such an atmosphere of disagreement and mutual distrust a list of candidate members of the Slovenian SSO presidium was drawn up and sent to opstina conferences. In the original version of this list, five controversial candidates were included. Two were quickly eliminated but conflicts arose in the youth leadership when the work of the remaining three candidates was analyzed. Alenka Ivancic, suggested as head of the center for information, research, and publishing, was said to be incapable of handling such an important post and had not been prepared for "patient dialogue" on questions of front action in which youth are especially interested. Andrej Luksic's candidacy as head of the center for youth free time was also disputed, but the renominating of Janez Jansa as president of the [SSO] commission for nationwide defense and social self-protection was disputed the most. Namely, at Jansa's initiative, a discussion was held at the beginning of this year on socializing nationwide defense. He was the author of the introductory material for this conference which the public security organs afterward confiscated. Judging from reports ... Jansa had brought out "a number of gross untruths regarding the National Liberation War and the Yugoslav People's Army." The coordinating council for cadre questions within ... SAWP said that Jansa in his work up to now had made constructive cooperation impossible between the youth and others responsible for nationwide defense and social self-protection, both in the republic and in the federation. "Especially unacceptable was his attempt to present the SSO of Slovenia as the only sociopolitical organization seeking socialization, and this--in such a way that the nationwide defense and social self-protection functions were to be transferred to self-management organizations and communities. In addition, he was said to have sought wider social responsibility for the fact that the views of the Slovenian youth organization, which opposes the law on military service, have been ignored.... Under the pretense of fighting against "bureaucracy and against dictating to youths," Jansa and his followers are opposing the basic premises of our society, Setinc said.

Andrej Brvar, president of the Slovenian youth [organization], could not agree with the decision of most members of the presidency on the candidacy of these controversial persons, so he resigned. In his letter to all opstina [SSO] conferences, Brvar said: "The decision about the candidate list threatens to bring conflict among leaders of sociopolitical organizations. This is doubly bad because it leads the SSO away from its real tasks and draws the organization and its members into a situation for which it is not sufficiently strong or capable of strengthening its position in society. Because of the gravity of this problem, I do not want to take responsibility for the collective decisions of the Slovenian SSO Conference Presidium."

Last week's program-and-electoral conference did not change the situation in the youth leadership. The very difficult discussion lasting several hours was finally broken off. The controversial candidates had the support of some of the opstina [SSO] leaders, so they did not want to be removed from the list but they did not get enough votes to be legally elected. To make things more difficult, Robert Cerne, the only candidate for the new presidency, also resigned his nomination, because mutual disagreement over the youth leadership would make it impossible to carry out planned tasks....